H.F.

H.F.M. 88

ANTIWAR AND

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

1939 - 1945

Pages 1 to 332

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File No I.

21.9.67/G.

Bundle No 4.

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File No I.

H. F. M.

Removed from bundle No 4 of former H.F. Movements

GOVERNMENT ORDERS AND CONSULTATIONS RETAINED FILE NO.

Extracts from G.O.s and Consultations relating to:- Antiwar and 'Quit India' movements (1939-1945)

Extracts from G.O.s relating to Antiwar and Quit India movement in the Madras Presidency :- (Proscribed literature) (1939-[illegible])

1

MGK

G.O. No. 1090 Ordinary Public dated 4-7-39.

The Hindi book entitled 'History of the Indian terrorist movement' was proscribed by the Chief Commissioner Delhi.

The author says that "In the history of every nation in the world where the struggle for freedom started, these had been a period of terrorism, though its duration had been very little and thus in the history of national awakening in India this period of terrorism lasted for about 40 years which is the longest duration and which is not to be found anywhere in the history of the world. The only difference between the revolutionary movement in other countries and in India is that whereas at other places it succeeded, it proved an utterfailure in India and instead the non-violent struggle started by Mr. Gandhi fructified. But in spite of all that its importance could not be ignored in having caused national awakening in India.

Further the history of terrorism movement in India actually started from the year 1856 when Nana Sahib, Tantia Topi and others endeavoured to cause revolution in the country all at once by preparing the British Indian soldiers to murder their British officers on a certain day thereby taking hold of all the armouries. But as India had still to see the days of selfdom, the movement was frustrated with the help of the Sikh Soldiers. It was in 1872 when the movement for freedom was again set a foot by kookas who very heroically fought against the British Government and thus sacrificed themselves for the cause of the country".

[by uncalled for firing while many more have got serious injuries by lathi charges. A sense campaign of repression initiated by the Government of India is being carried on throughout the length and breadth of the country against the national liberation movement. The promulgation of ordinances and their execution has resulted in the imprisonment Mahatma Gandhi, Mr.Abdul Gafur Khan, Pandit Nehru etc.

It is needless to mention that the Indian working class is neither committed nor is a party to the programme of civil disobedience movement initiated by the working committee of the Indian National congress but at the same time, it is determined to resist any attack upon the elementary rights of citizenship specially in matters like the freedom of speech, association and press.........]

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7.

G.O.No.2299.Confdl Dated 21-12-1939:--

The Kranti publishes from the pen of Dr,K.B. Krishna an article under the caption 'Tools in the hands of the British. Rulers of (Indian) states are causing obstacles to the progress of India. Carl Marx on Indian problems wherein sentiments like the following occur:--

In 1853, that is four years before the Sepoy Mutiny Carl Marx wrote some articles on India for the benefit of the Americans. The British were taking proper precautions during those days to establish their power in India permanently. Great changes were being effected in the system of Government. The

The historians of that time were all Englishmen. They had the monopoly of writing history. They wrote the history of India, filled it with abuses and accusations and caused it to be taught to the boys and girls in schools. The book written by John Mills is a gospel to the British civilians. The history of India continued to be written from the point of view of the British capitalists. That is why the essays written by Marx on India are considered to be a standard work. These essays have been made use of by Pami Dutt and others to write Indian history on proper lines. These essays are quite essential for discussing Indian political problems. Marx classified Indian history into three parts namely, 1. British rule in India 2. Changes in India due to class war in England and 3. Indian states.

British rule in India.

Britain occupied India with the blessings of the land-owners, merchants and mill-owners in India. It was the differences among them that led to the decline of India. In 1885 Indians too thought that they derived great benefit from Britian. No one has understood the

He did not

~~the British~~
the British had to be given employment and work. They had to be weakened by internal disputes and had to be prevented from using their force against the British. Employment was available to the English armies off and on as a result of the existence of these states. Marx very well described these rulers of Indian states. He said:-- "They are tools in the hands of the British. They are proper servants to protect the present intolerable system of Government."

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO Anti War & Quit India Movement 1940-

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature 194

Abstract of the G.O.

("Malabar Rebellion" - Tamil Book - Forfeiture - Ordered

REFERENCE: G.O.NO.597 (Ordinary) dated 18-3-1940 Public Dept.

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The Government of Madras declared forfeited the Tamil tr lation of the English book entitled "Malabar Rebellion" written by Samiyanatharanath Tagore.

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Selections from GOs relating to individual satyagraha and Proscribed literature :: Tamil books (1940) August revolt (1940)

95. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1399, Public dated 18-7-1940.

"Gandhiji our general"

The pamphlet 'Gandhiji our General' contains the following passage translated from tamil:-

"We should not carry on a foolish and mock fight as Britain is doing. The war aim of Britain is now exposed in its ~~time~~ true colours. Hitler desired to have back his African Colony which is now in British possession. But Britain did not agree to do so. This is mainly responsible for the outbreak of the war. That war was declared only with a view to safeguarding the Polish independence is false". The rest of the portions are not of much importance.

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89. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1657, Public dated 21.8.1940.

"Andaman Sirai Virar V.D.Savarkar Charittiram"

This is a booklet written by Mr.S.N.Narasimha Raju, Editor of the 'Nagara Jothi', and printed at the Raju Press, Salem. It deals with the life of Mr.Vinayaka Damodar Savarkar, the present President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. The author, who places Mr.Savarkar on a par with Shivaji, refers in highly appreciative terms to his birth, character, knowledge, patriotism, ideals, fortitude and national service, his determination to put an end to foreign domination in India by forcible and revolutionary means and liberate the country 'from the tyranny of British Imperialism' and the various efforts he made, both in India and England, to achieve this purpose. He describes his political activities in India and England such as the formation of political associations, the carrying on of revolutionary propaganda for the attainment of liberty and the training of the Indians in the manufacture of bombs, and the several trials and tribulations which he had to undergo both in India and England on account of his political predilections and which culminated in the award of a sentence of transportation on a charge of having waged war against the King-Emperor. In conclusion, the author however points out that there is a great difference between extremist policy of Mr.Savarkar and the non-violent policy of the Indian National Congress and advises the Indians to adopt only the latter policy.

The booklet contains the following observations among others:

The credit for having boldly asserted that the Hindu community alone should flourish deeming heroic independence as the most vital thing and for having demonstrated that there is no room whatever in India for the domination or glory of any one else goes only to Shivaji, the hero. Today Savarkar sheds tears unable to tolerate the sight of his motherland remaining in bondage. Today he is the only person that gives a fitting reply to certain communal leaders who revile Hinduism and demand special privileges

for their community alone with the idea of putting down the Hindus once for all. See how atrocious it is on thepart of the Muslim villains to kidnap the chaste Hindu women in Northern India outrage their modesty! See the atrocities that are perpetrated in order to rob the helpless Hindu families and leave them in the lurch!

Mother Bharata, who is suffering for want of food to eat and clothes to wear and who has lost her graceful look as a result of her having been deprived of independence, indignantly shows the shackles on her hands.

Who is that man of undaunted courage that ventured to humiliate Englishmen in their own country? Who is that noble person that carried on propaganda for the very first time to the effect that foreign cloth must be burnt and did accordingly? Who is that worker of tireless energy that went to the European countries, learnt the process of manufacturing bombs and published a book suggesting that India too should adopt it? Who is that heroic martyr that placed national emancipation above his own life and bore with heroic patience the sentence of transportation and hellish treatment at the hands of the foreign authorities? He is Vinayaka Damodar Savarkar.

The credit for having carried on incessant propaganda by contributing excellent articles to the papers regarding the condition of the motherland and the atrocities perpetrated by British Imperialism in India and by writing them in such a manner as to make the fire of patriotism blaze up and for having boldly and clearly described how India is being weighed down by the burden of British Imperialism goes only to Savarkar.

The patriot (Savarkar) is now returning (to India) after having participated in the work of apprising the world of the deplorable condition of India under British domination. The heroic son of Mother Bharata is now coming after having proclaimed, by means of newspapers and lectures, the disgraceful position which India has attained under foreign domination.

Selections from GOS relating to individual satyagraha and August revolt (1942)
Proscribed literature :: Tamil books (1940)

90. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 597, Public dated 18.3.1940.

"Malabar Puratchi"(Malabar Rebellion)

The Tamil Book mentioned above, which was printed at the Lokasakti Press, Madras, and published by the Lokasakti office, No21-A, South Cooum Road, Madras, is a substantially accurate though free rendering, By A.Ilangovan, of S.N.Tagore's book in English entitled "Pxeasants Revolt in Malabar in 1921." The translator has however interpolated the Tamil rendering with his own remarks here and there, some of which are calculated to justify the revolt of the peasants in Malabar in 1921 and deprecate the "tyranny" of capitalism, British Imperialism and the zamindari system. He has also re-arranged some of the paragraphs with suitable headings. The Tamil rendering is explanatory in certain places. There are some mistranslations and omissions in it which are not however material in character.

The translator has added his own preface to the book wherein he observes that the economic structure of no country except Soviet Russia is proper, that capitalism and British Imperialism are the two great obstacles in the way of the Indians leading a happy and peaceful life and that a Socialist revolution alone can get rid of them and lay the foundations for a new era. He futther remarks that the "cruel and terrible" nature of the measures which the soldiers of British Imperialism adopted for suppressing the revolt of the Malabar peasants is indescribable.

Selections from GOs relating to individual Satyagraha and Proscribed literature :: Tamil books (1940) August revolt (1942)

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92. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1850, Public dated 17.9.1940.

"Who is that Hitler"?

The book is obviously Nazi propaganda. The Allies (in the last war) are uniformly referred to as the enemies and Jews and Communists, as the op-ponents. At page 15, the author quotes the Gita saying that when evil grows too powerful to be overcome by human effort, God incarnates himself in human (or other) form to rid the world of its evil and give mankind a fresh start. The author sets out to prove that the wrongs caused to Germany by the Allies (in the last war) by Communists and by Jews were so inhuman that God decided to incarnate himself in Hitler's form or, at any rate, to appoint him as His special messenger to punish the wicked and protect the faithful.

Selections from ... relating to individual satyagraha and Proscribed literature: Tamil books (1940) ... report (1940-41)

91. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1905, Public dated 24.9.1940.

"The Indian States."

This book is entitled "The Indian States", and has been written by K.Arunachallam, sub-editor of the Tamil daily newspaper "Dhinamani". He is one of the accused convicted in the Madras Conspiracy Case. He came in contact with the Bengal detenues, while in the Central Jail ~~and~~ at Trichinopoly, while undergoing his imprisonment in connexion with the last civil disobedience movement. It has been reviewed by K.Santanam and S.Satyamurthi, members of the Central Assembly. It has been printed at "Khabeer Printing Works", Triplicane, and published by the Swatantra Joti Publishing House, No.289, Linghi Chetti Street, Georgetown.

Part I deals with the clever diplomatic moves of the British Government in which the princess got themselves involved and their effects. Part II deals ~~with the~~ with the history of the struggles for responsible government waged heroically and tenaciously by ~~the native princes and the help rendered by the~~ the subjects, backed by the Congress leaders being unable to bear the tyranny and repression of the native princes and the help rendered by the British Government to the native princes in putting down this agitation. In chapters I to III, the author narrates in detail, that the British East India Company and its representatives in India subdued most of the native states and brought them under their control by duplicity and other questionable methods. The objectionable portions in the other parts of the book are given hereunder:

Page 35:- All the rulers of the Indian States attended the Durbar at Delhi out of compulsion.

Page 40:-The Gaekwar of Baroda was accused of having attempted to poison the British Resident there. The Gaekwar was arrested and placed on his trial before a special tribunal. Some of the judges of this tribunal held him to be "guilty" while others found him to be "not guilty". The Gaekwar was removed from his seat. There is no doubt that this was gross injustice, that he was dealt

with like this, while his guilt was not proved. Further, his sons also lost the rights to the throne.

Page 41.--Rajah Pratap Singh of Kashmir who was deprived of his ruling powers on the false pretext that he was in correspondence with Russia and that he was guided by the advice of his subordinates who were accepting bribes. Even though it was immediately proved that he had no connexion with Russia, British Government would not listen. In 1889 the Resident appointed a council for Kashmir. This council had to act under the orders of the Resident. The Nizam of Hyderabad was forced to appoint some Europeans to his Executive council and to have as his prime minister, one approved of by the Viceroy.

Page 44.--The Residents should advice the Rajahs but in practice they are their masters. The Rajkot affairs have proved this.

Page 85.-- gives out that a Rajah coveted a family woman and had her removed to his palace after murdering her husband, that when she resisted his overtures, he had her forcibly raped by ten of his servants and finally murdered. The minister who condemned these acts lost his job. Paragraph 3 says the late Rajah of Jodhpur had 3,000 wives and the Nizam of Hyderabad 200.

Page 87, paragraph 2.--One of the Rajahs had illicit connexions with the daughter of his private secretary, a white man. As a result of this, a child was born to her. The secretary sent away his daughter and the child to England by steamer. Immediately the secretary got the minister's appointment.

Paragraph 3.--In South India, the Dewan of one of the states incurred the anger of his Rajah as he refused to send his daughter to the palace. The Rajah ordered the Police department to concoct a case that the Dewan had misappropriated the State money, On coming to know of this, through the Chief of the Police, he entered the British limits, with his family, after bidding good-bye to the State.

Page 88, Paragraph 2.--There is no use of blaming the princes for this. . . The sole responsibility for the education of a minor Rajah rests with the suzerain power. It is the orders of the Government that none should teach him. The teachers appointed by the British Government could teach them only about the powers of the British Government and that the princes would become helpless if the British were to leave this country.

Page 89.--Further, the Rajahs have been invested with powers to rule without the responsibility to protect their country. On account of this, laziness and with it lust and other incidental things crop up. The welfare of the subjects are not at all cared for. Is there any doubt that the British Government is responsible for the behaviour of the Rajahs?

Selections from GOs relating to individual Satyagraha and Proscribed literature :: Tamil Book (1940). August revolt (1940-45)

96. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1917, Public dated 26th September 1940.

"Navarasa Kangiras Kirttanai"

This booklet, which purports to be the first of a series, is printed at the Pankajam Press, Bodinayakkanur, Madura district. It contains 17 songs besides two invocation songs. All of them have been composed by one Nalluchchami, son of Sri Viswabrahma Kumarandi Achariar of Velayuthapuram, Ettayapuram Estate.

The author assumes a very hostile attitude towards Englishmen whom he characterises as robbers, exploiters, oppressors, ruthless messengers of death, wretches, parasites, sinners, enemies and ghosts haunting burning grounds. In the fifteenth song, he says that the whites have feline eyes.

In the second song, the author advises Indians not to allow the 'garrulous' Englishmen to come near them and, in the third, he exhorts them to resist the whites who are compared to SAKUNI, the evil adviser of Duryodhana.

In the fifth and ninth songs, the author points out that Indians became a slave nation because they gave away all their cotton to Englishmen, that Englishmen robbed Indians of their ancient wealth and appropriated it to themselves, that they became rich and made Indians dance like monkeys and that they are sucking the blood of Indians.

In the sixth song, the author says that Mr.Gandhi's mission in life is to do away the atrocities perpetrated by Englishmen and, in the third, seventh and sixteenth songs, he asks Indians not to be afraid of Englishmen, not to give away their cotton to them and not to be frightened by their worthless guns, cannon and bombs.

"Court imprisonment for getting swaraj"--this is the author's appeal to the people in the last and seventeenth song.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti War & Quit India Movement 1940 to 1947 IN THE MADRAS PRESIENCY. (Proscribed literature 1940)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Barrister vira Savarkar Part I" - Dinakaran-Forfeited - Government of Madras)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 1946(Confidential)dated 27-9-1940, Public (Gen) Dept.

The Government of Madras declared forfeited a tamil book entitled "Barrister Vira Savarkar part I" written by Dinakaran.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO Anti War & Quit India

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Movement - 1940-4

Abstract of the G.O. Proscribed Literature 194

("The Indian States" - Tamil book - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.1905 dated 24-9-1940 (Ordinary) Public (genl

Department.

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Government of Madras declared forfeited a book in Tamil entitled "The Indian States".

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Selections from GOs relating to individual satyagraha and associated literature :: Tamil books (1940) August revolt (1940)

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88. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1946, Public dated 27-9-1940

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"Barrister Vira Savarkar, Part I"

This is a book written by Sri Dinakaran. It gives an account of the life or Sri Vinayak Damodar Savarkar up to his departure for England in May 1906.

A Whirlwhind came from Europe. The Dutch, the French and the British traders came in groups like locusts. The French conquered the Dutch and the British conquered the French and the British Empire was established in India; From that time the industry and trade of the country slipped out of the hands of its nationals and India became England's market. Rights were wrested; education declined; wealth decayed; culture was destroyed; and the people of the country became worse than dogs.

There was no limit to the grievances of the people during the time oneEast India Company was ruling India. How long indeed could they be tolerated? X X X Indians started their first war of independence in 1857. It is true that India lost it. But has it not started a huge conflagration in the country? Did it not fire the patriotism of the people of the country?

Although Savarkar's revolutionary creed - The method of attaining swaraj by shedding blood - is not generally followed by the present-day Indian politicians, there are many among the votaries of non-violence who believe that this indeed is the ultimate method of securing independece. Several persons hold that Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha method is useful only for preparing the country. Two persons of equal status may perhaps meet each other in aimty. But how can there be amity between persons of conflicting views? One hand can come into contact with the other but how can the leg and the head come into contact with each other?

Plague is not a disease of Indian origin. It was exported from the West. It is a benefit that has resulted from the establish

ment of British rule in India. Just as the British are exploiting the wealth of India, this disease is killing a large number of Indians.

Like the soul caught between the devil and the deep sea, the Mahrattas were caught between the plague and the Police and not a little was the suffering experienced by them. Plague attacked every house. Policemen too attacked every house. The people feared the harassment of the Police more than the epidemic itself. The disease attacks a person and he dies suddenly. There is no torture in it. 'He lived; he died' - so the world thinks and forgets him. The atrocity of the Government however, does not stop with merely touching or arresting a person. It tortures him bit by bit beginning with the practice of forcing out the truth from him by driving a pin into the terminal joints of his fingers and the hideous farce of an enquiry and ending with imprisonment or transportation or capital punishment.

If the country is enabled to produce the articles required by it and to stand on its own legs, the Europeans will go away as they will then have no business. here. The food of Englishmen is being cooked in India. If there is no food here, they will starve there. If we want plenty of food here, we must send them there. Indigenous industries should be developed and the goods produced in the country should be sold in the country itself. If all the 37 crores of people in India take the swadeshi vow, no power can exercise its authority here.

When Vinayakan (Sri V.D.Savarkar) declared: 'We are not burning foreign cloth here, but we are burning foreign outlook! We are burning the foreign spirit! We are destroying our glamour for foreign rule!' We are burning the connection that exists between us and foreigners! We adore Swaraj!' the Mahrattas clapped their shoulders in defiance and shouted.

Paranjpye took a coat from a heap. He showed its small pockets to the people. He roared: "Look here! It is only through these small pockets that the wealth of India is going to England.

It was only through these that the crowns of Indian Princes too were taken away. O Ruinous Pockets! We have realised your ruinous nature. We have realised also the means of getting rid of you. You are holding not only the wealth of India but also the blood of India. O Fire! Burn these to ashes! Burn also to ashes the sin of our having remained slaves - fettered slaves - till now.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO Anti War & Quit India Movement - 1940-47

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Abstract of the G.O.) Proscribed Literature 1940.

("Vira Savarkar" - Tamil Book - Proscribed.)

REFERENCE: G.O.NO.2328 (Ordinary) dated 26-11-1940:Public (Genl) Department.

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The Government of Madras proscribed a book in Tamil entitled "Vira Savarkar".

Selections from G.O.s relating to individual Satyagraha and Proscribed literature :: Tamil books (1940) August revolt (1940...)

93. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 2328, Public dated 26.11.1940.

"Vira Savarkar".

This is a book written by Sri S.Krishnamurthi, printed at the Newman Press, Madras, and published by 'National Thought' Thyagarayanagar, Madras. It gives a brief account of the life of Sri Vinayaka Damodar Savarkar.

In the preface, the author expresses his belief that his book will kindle the national spirit 'which is lying dormant in the heart of every person.' In the proper he refers appreciatively to Sri Savarkar's birth, character, knowledge, talents, patriotism, fortitude and national service. He mentions his resolve to sacrifice his all for the liberation of India, his belief that nothing can be achieved without bloodshed and that India cannot attain independence by peaceful means and his advocacy of the adoption of revolutionary methods for the attainment of liberty. He observes inthis connexion that the credit for having infused lofty ideals in the minds of the youths of Nasik town and made them participate in revolutionary activities goes to Savarkar. He then describes the several efforts he made both in India and England to achieve his object, such as the formation of political associations and the carrying on of revolutionary propaganda for the attainment of independence, as well as the various trials and tribulations which he had to undergo on account of his political predilections and which culminated in the award of a sentence of transportation and subsequent internment at Ratnagiri. Incidentally the author condemns the convict settlement in the Andamans where Sri Savarkar was sent to undergo his sentence of transportation and speaks of it as a hell on earth. He further remarks that the credit for having discovered this hell on earth and making use of it belongs only to the Englishmen. Lastly he refers to his election as the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha after his release from Ratnagiri in 1937 and his opposition to the Communal Award and the Pakistan Scheme.

In the epilogue it is stated that, if the economic condition of ~~the~~ India which is responsible for all the confusion prevailing therein at present is to improve, India should attain complete independence, that she can do so only with the help of the Indian National Congress and that, if the people of India are to prosper the Congress should adopt Socialism.

The credit for having infused lofty ideals in the minds of of the youths of Nasik town and made them participate in revolutionary activities goes to Savarkar.

It was Savarkar's belief that nothing could be achieved without the use of force and without bloodshed.

It was his (Savarkar's) conviction that it is impossible for India to secure independence by peaceful means.

When Vinayak was a youth, several extraordinary incidents occured in the country. The dreadful disease called plague afflicted the Indians in 1897. Some of the officers appointed for chevking the spread of this disease are stated to have acted in a merciless manner. Some Indians are reported to have murdered several of these officers on account of their having been enraged at them. . . . . The Government charged some of them with the offence of murder and sentenced them to death. . . . Many condemned the cruel deed of the Indians who were charged with the offence of murder. Some persons stated: 'These white men deserve this and even more.' Some others sympathized with those who were deemed to be guilty. Vinayak was one of them.

(While he was studying in the Fergusson College) Savarkar was thinking of adopting the methods of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Shivaji who are considered to be the prime movers of revolution. At this very time the boycott of foreign goods began. . . . One day Savarkar and his friends joined together and burnt all the foreign clothes they had with them. He thought to himself: 'Let our slavery also be burnt with this.' Among the Indians our Savarkar was the first person who burnt foreign clothes.

Everybody liked his songs which were replete with revolutionary ideas and began to sing them. This increased the fear of the Government.

The speeches made by him (before he left for England for higher studies) provoked the Government. In particular the speech which he delivered at Nasik not only moved the audience but also roused their passions. The sitaation at that time was such as to make every one think that a great revolution might take place.

A few days before Savarkar left for England, he met his friends and promised that he would acquaint them somehow or other with everything which he learnt newly regarding revolution.

However, Savarkar's faith in the bomb did not slacken even to a little extent. He thought that instead of testing it in England it would be better to use it in several places in India. He sent some persons to India for this purpose.

(When Thinkare, an Indian, was reported to have murdered Sir Curzon willie, an Englishman) many of the Indians in England admitted that it was indeed iniquitous. They were about to pass unanimously a resolution to that effect at a meeting. At the meeting a voice arose stating: 'I oppose this resolution'. Whose voice coult it be? It was only Savarkar's voice.

Selections from G.O.s relating to individual Satyagraha and Proscribed literature :: Tamil Books (1940) August revolt (1940-42)

94. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1782, Public, dated 6.9.1940.

"Katta Bommu"

This is a book written by one Sri T.N.Subrahmanyam and published by the Navayugaprachuralayam, George Town, Madras. In the preface to the book, the author says that he has written the book with the object of giving an authentic account of the Kattabommus of Panchalankurichchi and that he has not included in it certain popular versions because he had no means of veryfying their authenticity. He also points out that he has not dealt at length with the 'war' waged by Umaitturai with the East India Company since it was really the Marudu brothers who were the great friends of Umaitturai and his family that waged this war and that he has delat with this subject in detail in his book entitled 'Maruda Pandiyar'. In the book under report, the author has traced the history of the Kattabommus with special reference to their relations with the East India Company and on pages xi to xiii of the book he has given the original sources may of these are admittedly of great historical value (from which he has given historical value) from which he has obtained the material for his work.

The book proper is divided into 21 chapetrs. These treat of the ancestry of the Poligars of Panchalankurichchi, of the Poligar system resembling in material particulars the feudal system in Europe, of the political condition of the Carnatic during the first half of the 18th century, of the failure of Poligars of Panchalankurichchi to pay rent to the East India Company and the expedition sent against them in 1755, of the struggle for supremacy between the rival parties in the Carnatic, of the alliance of the Poligars of Panchalankurichchi with the Dutch, of the attack on Panchalankurichchi by the Company's forces, the expulsion of its Poligar from that place and his subsequent assumption to power, of Colonel Fullarton's expedition against Panchalankurichchi and Sivagiri in 1783 and the submission of the Poligars of these places, of Collector Jackson's treatment of Karuttayya Vira Pandiya Kattabommu

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the latter's interview with the former at Ramnad and his escape from Ramnad, of the enquiry into the conduct of Collector Jackson and his deposition, of the events leading to the expedition against Panchalankurichchi under Major Bannerman in 1799, of the capture of the rebel Poligar of Panchalankurichchi and his execution, of the imprisonment of his two brothers, Karuttayya and Duraisingam, the latter of whom was popularly known as Umaitturai, and their escape and flight to Panchalankurichchi, of Major Macaulay's expedition against Panchalankurichch and his retreat to Palayamkottai, of the arrival of Colonel Agnew with reinforcements and the capture of the fort at Panchalankurichchi and of the escape of Sivattayya and Umaitturai, their capture and execution and the razing of the fort at Panchalankurichchi to the ground.

Selections from G.Os relating to individual Satyagraha Proscribed literature: Tamil Books (1941) and August Revolt (1940-47)

98. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 553, Public dated 17.3.1941.

"RAMGAR KANGIRAS VAIBHAVAM"

This is a book written by Mr. R. Narayana Ayyangar, B.A., B.L., editor of the 'Hindusthan', The book gives a descriptive and appreciative account of the 53rd session of the Indian National Congress held at Ramgarh from the 13th to the 20th March 1940 and reproduces in Tamil the addresses delivered by the President of the Congress and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the speeches made by prominent Congress delegates at the various stages of the proceedings of the session and the resolution passed at the session.

(The Patna resolution moved by Babu Rajendra Prasad states inter alia

It is not proper on the part of the British Government to treat India as a belligerent country, without any reference to the people of India, and to exploit the resources of India in this war. No self-respecting and freedom-loving person can tolerate such a situation. It is evident from the pronouncement made recently defining the attitude of the British in regard to India, that Britain is carrying on this war only for imperialist ends. That Imperialism is exploiting the people of India. Hence, the Congress cannot, in any way, directly or indirectly be a party to the war. This Congress does not approve of even the Indian troops fighting on behalf of Britain, This Congress also strongly disapproves of the drain from India of men and material for the purpose of the war. In India men do not join the army of their own accord. *** The Congress holds that the difficulty raised in regard to the States is of the British Government's creation and that the question cannot be solved satisfactorily unelss India is freed from foreign domination. * * * The Congress seeks to serve all without distinction of race or religion. It is striving for the attainment of freedom for everybody in India. Hence, the Congress cherishes the hope that all classes will take part in the civil disobedience. The Civil disobedience will evoke the spirit of sacrifice in the whole nation.

The presidential address and other speeches delivered by various persons at or in connection with the Ramgarh session of the Indian National Congress and reproduced in the above-mentioned

book
book contain the following observations among others:-

(Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru) In regard to this matter, it is my conviction that so long as there is the third party in this country viz., the British, the communal problem cannot at all be solved. * * * I am strongly of opinion that it is not for destroying Nazism or for safeguarding democracy that Britain is waging the war. It fighting only to strengthen its own imperialist interests. Therefore, India cannot be a party to this war.

(Mr Yusuf Meher Ally) Labour and peasant struggles should be developed. Arrangements should be made for a country-wide boycott of British goods. Intensive work should carried on in select aread in each district for civil disobedience. Efforts should be made for starting a no-tax campaign. Workers should be mobilised for mass political action.

(Moulana Abul Kalam Azad) While we are observing the evil resulting from Fascism and Nazism, we cannot forget British Imperialism which produces even greater evils, which causes great harm to the peace and freedom of countries and which is the cause of new evils

(Moulana Abul Kalam Azad) British Imperialism stands in the way of peace and justice to-day exactly as it did before the war.

(Moulana Abul Kalam Azad) For the last 150 years British Imperialism has been adopting the policy of 'Divide and rule'. * * * It is solely responsible for India being steeped in bondage. A foreign Government will never help in the maintenance of unity in a country which is enslaved to it.

(Mr Gandhi) Many of those that spoke here have explained the troubles caused by the imperialistic policy of the British. I do not like to say anything further than that. We should certainly get rid of that policy.

Extracts from G.O.s relating to Anti-war and 'Quit India' Movements (194-) in the Madras Presidency. Proscribed Literature (1941)

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

G.O.No.832. Public(General) Department. d/25th April 1941.

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department.

No.2218/c dated/12th April 1941.

"VIPLAVA YUGAMU" (Illustrated Terrorist History of India)- book in Telugu by 'Kranti Kumar' 'Kranti Press', Swechapuram', 488 pages, proceed at Rs.4/-

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This is a most objectionable book containing a history of the Terrorist Movement in India. Lives of prominent terrorists and theirr photographs are reproduced. The publication of the lives of terrorists with their photos, whose only claim to notoriety is the fact that they were assassins, is a direct incitement to violence. Their description as 'martyrs' is calculated to incite unbalanced youths to follow their example. The name of the writer and the press given in the book are fictitious.

The book contains material falling under Section 4, (1) a, b, c, d & h of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, and it is suggested that Government proscribes it under Section 19 of the said Act. The extracts given below amplify these comments.

In the 'Foreword' the author states:- "Readers will weep, laugh in hatred and grind their teeth. There is no use of shedding tears and clenching teeth. Hoping that this will be a beacon light in achieving Independence, I have written this book. Readers are urged to interpret it in the light of the present day events and do their duty!" In these days when the Devil of the India Devouring Act is showing its naked fangs very many difficulties have to be surmounted to get this printed." On page 3 reviewing the atrocities perpetrated by Imperialist and Fascist countires and British propaganda about Germany and Japan he states - "Who will believe blindly their (British) statement in honeyed words that they are at war with Germany to safeguard Democracy?" Page 5, on the other hand, states that 'the atrocities perpetrated by the British Government in putting down the First Indian War of Independence pale into insignificance before the inhumanities done by Germany and Japan."

The writer has traced the History of Terrorism from a Marxist point of view, commenting here and there on the futility of Individual Terrorism, commending the recent drift of terrorists towards Marxism,

but....

but he has not condemned the cult of the bomb anywhere. On the other hand he criticises those orthodox congressmen who described terrorists ~~those orthodox congressmen who described terrorists~~ as dacoits and desperadoes. On page 482 he states "In every country terrorism reared its head and disappeared after the mass movement had strengthened. In Russia too it was so. Though the cult of the bomb prevailed at first after the advent of Lenin it was the movement which overthrew the autocratic Czarist Government." Whenever, Police officers, informants or approvers are portrayed, they are referred to as Imperialist Hirelings who deserve the fate they had at the hands of terrorists.

Every page contains objectionable matter of which the following are examples:-

Page 4: 'British in India---did not hesitate to exploit the poor. The women folk of poor ryots who failed to pay their tax were forcibly removed to bungalows and raped. The fingers of expert weavers who disobeyed their orders were cut off."

Page 5: The White Devils avaricious for blood, danced weirdly."

Page 17: "For freedom we must march with sword and lance in hand. We must cut down our enemies by hundreds. Hear! We must sacrifice, ourselves on the national battle field. Not only that; the blood of those who defiled out holy darma should flow. We will kill and then die. Do not sit quiet like women listening to gossip. -----In the first place kill the White men. Do not sit idle ---- Why should the White people rule this country."

Page 20: Lord Krishna has advised Arjuna - "If a man commits murder in a noble cause selflessly, there is no sin. Did Sivaji kill Afjul khan in self interest? No ---- When robbers enter the house and we are unable to apprehend them we must lock them up inside and burn them alive. This is the policy. God has not authorised the foreigners by any writ to rule India."

Page 62: "The terrorists believed that murder of certain autocrats will fuse consciousness among masses though it may not bring swaraj. They believed that the army too would join them."

Page 68: Referring to the arrest of a terrorist by Inspector Nandalal and his promotion it is stated - "When Government commended the bravery

of.....

this slave in this way the terrorists too had given him a hot reception by shooting him down in broad daylight in Calcutta. With his blood they perform the obsequies of Chaki (terrorist)."

Page 120 : Writing about the terrorist point of view he stated - "The terrorists did not commit murders or dacoits for self, as the Government wants us to believe. ----- The money they stole was utilised for revolutionary purposes, for securing arms and bombs. The people whom they murdered were the cankers in the way of getting swaraj for India. They only robbed the rich but not the common people.---That all this effort proved futile is a different story. If there had not been mass awakening who knows what would have happened.

Page 125: "The terrorists wanted to engineer an All India Armed Insurrection. They tried hard to create consciousness in the army. They committed murder only in self defence."

Pages 372 to 375: The statement of the accused in the Lahore Conspiracy case is quoted in detail.

Pages 418 to 419: Referring to the death of Azad, the terrorist, it is mentioned - "The resources of the Empire could not catch him alive, nor even approach him. Azad is a great hero. He had exemplary courage, sacrifice and creative powers. He was the last Emperor in the terrorist age. He was the only man who rocked the Government of India. What for did he sacrifice his life? For self? No. He was a worshipper at the ~~alter~~ altar of freedom."

Pages 430 to 431: Referring to the murder of the Inspector General of Police in Bengal it is stated--"The Inspector General (Lowman) was high handed---cruel. In 1916, he tortured several terrorists and torture was child's play to him. He who came here for his livelihood, misused his powers and the youth could not bear it.---"

Vinaya Krishna Bose fired three shots and Lowman after 2 days went to the other world leaving his sinful carcass.--- Lowman's murder struck terror into the hearts of Imperialist slaves in Bengal. When there was no safety for the principal police officer what about the fate of others. People were struck dumb by the bravery displayed by Vinaya Krishna who escaped after successfully accomplishing his mission.

Page 433: .....

<u>Page 433:</u> Referring to the Secretariat incident in Calcutta where some youths indiscriminately opened fire on European officers it is stated--"they did not touch the ordinary staff. Their object was to destroy the White insects exercising autocratic powers."

<u>Page 485:</u> 'History tells us that the terrorist movement is not merely the death cry of an isolated few, but an All India issue and anti-Imperialist agitation. It started with middle class discontent, spread to several provinces and lasted for several years. In spite of several hard hits it continued to become more and more severe."

The above extracts indicate the trend of the book. Such inflamatory material will easily influence unbalanced youths and incite them to acts of violence.

In March 1941 advertisement-s canvassing orders for this book enclosed in envelopes containing catalogue of publications of the "Adarsa Grandha.

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Example of objectionable matter in the Telugu book entitled "Viplava Yugamu."

Page 4:- " British in India did not hesitate to exploit the poor. The womenfolk of poor ryots who failed to pay their tax were forcibly removed to bungalows and raped. The fingers of expert weavers who disobeyed their orders were cut off."

Page 5:- " The White Devils avaricious for blood, danced weirdly."

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Extracts from GOs relating to British war and anti-Indian movements (1940-41) on the Madras Presidency

Proscribed Literature (1941)

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS
Public (General) Department.

Confidential. G.O. No. 964, dated 10th May 1941. 69

*** The original was seized from R. Narasimha Reddi, B.A, LL.B Madanapalle, during a general search on the 14th instant of the houses of communists and their sympathisers. ***

*** The pamphlet is issued by the New History Society, New York. ***

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had to be granted had not something been devised to distract their minds and direct their thoughts to other channels; and what more efficient method was there than the setting up of vast abattoirs, where the surplus population could be sacrificed to the Moloch of Iniquity ! By such means the basis of autocracy became firmer, the foundation of dynasties steadier; the prestige of thrones was heightened and the inviolability of the sacred personages was secured. Then would these be declared the protectors of empires, the guardians of nations and the defenders of the Faith. Meanwhile the earth, moistened and enriched by mangled bodies, would cover her breast with luxuriant vegetation, so that the imperial children and grandchildren might disport themselves on her green pastures, trampling underfoot the inviolable rights of humanity, until such time as, dis-satisfaction again becoming manifest, her "brave sons" would be called to spring to arms once more.

"Vain are you and vainer your thoughts! Let it be known that we no longer agree to shed our blood so copiously for the upholding of your fantastic reasons for war. Rather, we are determined to break your combinations of powers, to hurl down your despotic thrones and to regain the authority that you have usurped and assumed. We are fighting to uproot the tree of your coarse influence; to cleanse our bodies of its tenacious burrs; to destroy their thousand nettled thistles of evil and to promote the ideal of Democracy upon the expanse of the earth. We are fighting to establish the principles of Divine Civilization in the hearts of men and to hold aloft forever the banner of a Universal Commonwealth.

"Lo and behold! We are not asleep. The eastern horizon is emblazoned with the advancing heralds of a New Day. We have seen, we have witnessed, and we are not mistaken. Oh joy! Oh joy of joys! We have arisen at the hour of dawn and offered up our morning prayer at the very Footstool of our Maker."

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For copies of this leaflet write to:

THE NEW HISTORY SOCIETY,
132 East 65th Street,
NEW YORK, N.Y., U.S.A.

Extracts from G.O.s relating to Andhras and 'Quit India' movement (1940-42) in the Madras Presidency (Recorded later) (1941)

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

G.O.No.1834. Public (General) Department. d/25th August 1941.

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Report on the Telugu book entitled "Swatantara Garjana" (The Roar of Independence).

This book printed at the Andhra Vani Press, Bezwada and published by the author V.V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Bezwada deals with three topics The first topic goes by the name of the title of the book, and the second and the third topics are "Tenugu Ravvalu" and "Sankranti" respectively.

In the first topic, "The Roar of Independence", the author bewails the present degradation of India and says that "the lions of heroes", who try to free the country are being shot down by machine guns and put to many cruelties. He writes "the hunters (this expression is probably meant to refer to the British) thrust in sharp knives into the bodies of young couple, newly married, they knocked down ladies (pregnant) and dragged them until the embryo came out, they left the weeping children in the midst of deserts, ~~they strangled~~ they strangled the necks of those who refused to take water etc.," (Vide page 4) In stanzas 8,9 and 10 (pages 5 and 6) Communal dissensions in general and Hindu-Moslem clashes in particular and the sufferings of Adi-Andhras are regretted thus: "Even in spite of such a grave danger, and when the mother (India) is on death-bed, the Hindus and the Muhammadans are fighting with each other without caring to secure the freedom of the country. Moreover the Pancamas are trodden down by the Caste Hindus". To save the country, the author says, Mahatma Gandhi with Charka appeared on the scene, and exhorts the people to become united and follow his lead.

The second topic "Tenugu Ravvalu" (Andhra Diamonds) is in praise of Subhas Chandra Bose, who is described as "a strong bull, which is capable of shaking the earth (here England according to popular usage) to the very roots (Vide page 9). He is also described as " the Lion of Bengal"."the spear capable of being pierced into the heart of England and as "the hero who would destroy all shackles of slavery". (Vide Page 11).

The third topic is "Sankranti" (Pongal) which ~~the~~ has got an allegorical meaning addressed to "Time". The cock-fight, which is a common feature in the Andhra country during the Pongal, and described here, may be compared to the fight for Independence by India and the cocks

killed...

killed during the fight may be compared to the heroes who have laid down their lives in the fight for the independence of their country (Vide stanza 3). The 6th stanza contains the idea of driving away the English, who made India poor. Here, the author appeals to Time to see off the dolls that have reduced Indians, well-known for their riches and philanthrophy, to the position of beggars. This has a reference to the custom prevailing in Andhra Desa by which young girls display and worship their toys for four days in connection with the Pongal festival. Thus by implication, the expressions 'dolls' may mean Britishers who have been placed on a high pedestal and worshipped by the people of India.

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Extracts from GOs relating to Anti war and Quit India movements (1940–) in the Madras Presidency :- Proscribed Literature (1941)

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GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS
Public (General) Department.

Confidential. G.O.No. 2049, dated 18th September 1941.

REPORT ON "GURU BABU".

"Guru Babu" is a Telugu drama designed to foster communist ideas in the minds of the masses. A summary of its plot is given below.

Guru Babu is the President of the Provincial Labour Union and also the leader of the Workers' Movement. Kranti, a young woman-worker, is a member of the Union. She takes a keen interest in the welfare of women-workers and is in love with Guru Babu. A labour colony is attached to the Union, as a sort of refuge for unemployed workers. Bhattu is also a member of the Union. He is noted for his vehement advocacy of the movement, but is considered unsteady and unreliable. He supposes that Kranti loves him. Jiyyar is another member of the Union. He is a songster who goes from village to village, doing propaganda for the movement through his songs. Guru Babu and other leaders of the movement find instances of high-handedness on the part of landholders to be increasing day by day. While Bhattu and some other workers including Kranti advocate violent measures in return, Guru Babu counsels caution and steady constructive work as the prerequisites for any successful workers' revolution. At last, they decide upon a general strike of workers all over the Province in retaliation of the notice of reduction by fifty per cent of the wages of farm-labourers given by Sankarayya, the most influential landholder of the place. The workers accordingly go on strike, when their demand for a cent per cent increase of their wages is summarily rejected by Sankarayya. While the Labour Union sends out its members to do propaganda among workers throughout the Province, Sankarayya deputes his well-to-do tenant ryots, Bapayya and Kotayya to carry on a counter propaganda in every village among ryots and landholders and frustrate the strike. Clashes naturally occur between the groups of the two parties. The first encounter is between Sankarayya's party including a policeman on the one hand and a procession of women-workers under the leadership of Mani, a close friend of Kranti on the other. The Policeman, while attempting to assault Mani, is roughly handled by Kranti. At this stage, Guru Babu and other men workers enter in large numbers. Realising that they are outnumbered, Sankarayya and his men make their exit coolly.

In the course of his propaganda through songs, Jiyyar comes into clash with a Mokhasadar. The latter gives him a sharp slap in the face and he falls down. When he is found again in the same place in company with Mani preventing a group of women-workers from going to their field under the spell of his songs, the landholder deals a fatal blow on his head with a stick.

Sankarayya, the landholder, grows uneasy at the increasing stiffness of workers and consults his well-to-do tenant-ryots, Kotayya and Bapayya, about the line of action that has to be pursued by them. They finally decide to make short work of Guru Babu as they did in the case of Jiyyar. For this purpose, Kotayya's educated daughter Swarnasri and her brother, Raghavam, offer their services. Swarnasri takes Rs.10,000/- from Sankarayya, gives one half of it to her brother and retains the other half with her. She instructs her brother to influence the Police to file a case against Kranti for Jiyyar's murder and get her interned but not imprisoned in the concerned village and also see that all entry into the place of leaders from outside is banned. Thus, she hopes to separate Kranti and Guru Babu. She joins the Labour Union in the guise of a worker and supports the condolence resolution on the death of Jiyyar, saying that she is a disciple of his. Gradually, she makes Bhattu a tool in

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her hands by means of her good looks and money and induces him to hate Guru Babu, saying that the latter forcibly won over Kranti in spite of all her earnest love for him. She goads him to usurp the Presidentship of the Labour Union by murdering Guru Babu. Her brother, Raghavam succeeds in his attempts to foist a case on Kranti for Jiyyar's murder and have her interned in the village. All entry into the village of labour leaders from outside being banned, Guru Babu who comes to know of the case, is prevented from going to the place, however eagerly he wished to be by Kranti's side in her trouble and he carried on propaganda in the surrounding villages. Swarnasri gets Bhattu to give a telegram to Guru Babu to start immediately and attend a very important meeting of workers to be held near a particular coffee hotel the next evening. She directs her brother to arrange with the bus-driver to delay the trip purposely, so that Guru Babu may arrive late in the evening at the appointed place. She puts Bhattu in the false hope of marrying her and becoming the President of the Labour Union himself. Guru Babu falls into the trap thus laid for him and would be moving about the appointed coffee hotel after his arrival at Karmikapuram in the bus. He regrets his late arrival to the disappointment of the meeting which, he assumed, must have dispersed. Bhattu enters in black dress accosting Guru Babu and stabs him while pretending to embrace him. Guru Babu draws his sword and injures Bhattu on the shoulder, but Bhattu again stabs him. Guru Babu falls down and tries to get up. Bhattu cries out for help. Immediately, Raghavam rushes with a sword and fatally stabs both Guru Babu and Bhattu. Addressing Raghavam, Guru Babu observes that the workers' movement would surely engulf the whole world like a deluge and that such murders of individuals cannot check its course and appeals to him and his capitalist friends to come to terms with workers in their own interests and establish communism everywhere. Wishing Victory to the movement and thinking of his beloved Kranti, he dies and the drama closes.

ANNEXURE.

English translation of specimen passages from the Telugu Manuscript Book, "Guru Babu ".

Venkanna, a farm-labourer is asked to vacate his hut and he proposes to go to the labour colony of Guru Babu. He has aged parents, his wife, a daughter and a son. The following conversation takes place btween Venkanna and his son:--

Venkanna's son - Grandfather! Let us not go anywhere. Let him (the landholder) come this time. Let him. I shall cut him with this dagger. He will die. Then, none will ask us to go away.
Venkanna - Darling! If only we all had your daring, we would not have had these troubles; we would have become independent long ago and thriven. We have been slaves to deceitful time and suffer now. (sheds tears). (Vol. I. Page 12).

At a meeting of labourers which is convened to determine their line of action in reply to landholder Sankarayya's proposal to reduce their wages by fifty per cent, Kranti and Bhattu make the following among other observations in the course of their speeches:--

Kranti - If only we have strength and if rich people are afraid of our strength, can they brag in this fashion? *** At every step, we should demonstrate our strength to them. We should make them understand that without us, the world itself cannot exist and that if we are so minded, we shall swallow the world even. The coolies should not work for these reduced wages, though they may die. This is my desire, my resolve.

p.t.o.

Bhattu - *** The coolies should not work, even though they may die. If even the orig nal wages were to be offered, they should not move. Unless the wages are doubled, do not step into the farm (for work). In that case, are you worried over the problem of our food? I shall feed you; come on. Do as I say. The fields are with bumper crops. At night, raid the fields, cut and bring as much (produce) as you can get hold of. Beat all those who may obstruct you. All this harvest represents the sweat of our labour. It is our property. Loot rich people's houses. All the money in their coffers is ours. It is the lump of our blood. If the Society and the Government should stand fast in our way of taking what is ours, defy them and fight with them. If you do this, our huts will become palaces, our dirty slums, the best cities, our soot-soiled clothes, gold garments and our thin parched-up bodies, stores of beauty. We shall come out of this poverty and dirt, this blazing hunger, this hell of shame and this bestial life. Arise. This is the opportune time. (pages 36-38 Vol.I).

A procession of women-workers goes in the public street, singing the following song:-- We shally carry on the war of independence, Oh, ye, robber-princes, who have robbed us of the blood of our breast and of the strength of our bones, till we attain freedom and secure happiness. (Page 62. Vol.II)

Taking leave of her leader and lover, Guru Babu, on the eve of her departure to another place on propaganda business, Kranti expresses the unsatisfied craving of her heart to live with him as his wife and enjoy the pleasures of a happy home free from the worries of opporessed workers and wishes him success in his efforts for the latter's redemption. The following among other observations occur in the course of their conversation:-- Guru Babu - The place you are going to visit is a very bad one. It seems that Jiyyar was beaten in Raitupuram. But nothing very dangerous about the incident is reported. Capitalism has assumed a demoniacal form and is carrying a terrible orgy. I cannot let you go alone.

Kranti - I have also heard of Jiyyar having been beaten. Unless I go there, that place will not become good. I think many people there have not joined the strike yet. I cannot part with you. But you have to be here in view of the worries to which workers are subjected at nights by Sankarayya and Bapayya. As soon as I go there, I shall send Jiyyar here.

Guru Babu - *** You had better take four more workers with you. My heart will be throbbing for you till your return.

Kranti - The same would be the case with me.

Guru Babu - As soon as our strike comes to a successful close, our bodies should, along with our hearts,--

(Kranti holds back in modesty. Guru Babu takes her into his embrace and kisses her.) * * *

Kranti - Lo! There comes a procession of our people. How many the tortures are to which countless persons are being subjected! Oh, this capitalism! -- What a demon it is, what a demon!

Guru Babu - Now you go. I shall join this procession and go round the whole town.* * *

Kranti - Yes. Guru. We shall now take our leave. Let the fire of honour smouldering in the hearts of workers burn down human brutes. Let the fire of hunger smouldering in the stomachs of workers burn down capitalism. Let the fire smouldering in the blood of workers rise up in flames and touch the sky. Let the huge fire of revolution lying latent in the strength of workers be aglow. Let workers' armies jump forward! Friend, be brave,

briing about revolution and establish communism in the world, burning down the difference between high and low! We should not keep quiet any more. With this stroke, there should be a revolution, and our Karmikapuram alone should be its centre. The workers' movement should be crowned with success in our Province. In some parts the workers happend to be foolish and selfish and the employers, stiff-necked. I shall go with some women-workers and come back after setting the business right. Good-bye! Long live revolution!

Guru Babu - Good-bye! Long live revolution!

(They kiss each other and part. The curtain falls).(pages88-92. Vol.III).

In the course of a conversation between two workers the following among other sentiments occur:--

Worker 2 - But for that workers' colony, what would have become of our very existence?

Worker 1 - Nothing. We would have snatched (it) from these land-holders by kicking them. What! Have their grand-fathers brought all this with them at the time of their birth? Is not all this ours - (the fruit of) the sweat of our labour?

Worker 2 - If you say this thing in their presence, they will kick you.

Worker 1 - We would kick them in return. Workers of to-day are not the simpletons that they were before. We are worker-heroes. (so saying he strikes the outer parts of his thighs and upper arms as wrestlers do). (Page 94, Vol. III).

In the course of Guru Babu's concluding speech as the president of a meeting of workers, which was convened to mourn the death of Jiyyar, the following among other observations occur:- Well, we shall wreak our vengeance now. We shall harass and destroy capitalism which is operating as if it were a thorn in the side of humanity. Till then, Jiyyar's soul would/have peace. If universal equality is to be attained, imperialism should be ended. If the fire of hunger is to be quenched, the stomachs of Capitalists should be torn to pieces (Lit.dug into). If happiness is to be secured for the world, slavery is to be buried under the earth. If the Earth is to be turned into Heaven, the workers' rule alone should prevail. If the Kingdom of Heaven which is free from wails, acts of meanness, terrible tortures, fierce battles and poverty is to be the aspiration of humanity, there is no other means for it than the workers' movement. Let it go on. Let these capitalists, these rich people, swallow as many workers as they like. The cup of sin will soon be full. We shall triumph. The time has come when the whole world will be under the workers' rule. We shall triumph. This meeting closes to-day.(All except Swarnasri and Bhattu exit, uttering the slogan 'Long live Revolution). (Pages 115-116, Vol.III).

At a meeting of workers in Karmikapuram, Mani, Kranti's friend, announces that Kranti has been implicated by the Police in Jiyyar's murder case and kept in remand, and conveys the message of both Kranti and Guru Babu to the audience to carry on the strike resolutely and non-violently. In the course of a discussion which follows next on the question of carrying on the strike successfully, ideas like the following occur:--

Bhattu - We must carry on the strike in this way indefinitely. (Cheers). The capital fund of our Association would suffice for the whole Association for one month.

Shambam - Why for one month? Unless the employers come to terms within a week, the crops would perish.

Mani - If they do not care for the loss of crops?

Bhattu - We shall take possession of those crops.

Mani - A case for dacoity will then be filed against us.

Bhattu - A dacoity case against so many thousands of people, against workers suffering from unbearable hunger! How can the Government take cognizance of it?

Mani - The Government knows no rules or morals. The Government is a synonym for an iron machine without any thoughts. It is a brute devoid of fine sentiments like mercy and pity. It would strike anything that comes within the range of its paw. It would eat anything that is submissive to it. A case will, however, not be filed -------- -- by the employers against so many people. It would be enough for them to file it against ten persons or so, who may be the ring-leaders and imprison them. (Pages 125-127, Vol. IV).

In the concluding portion of her final soliloquy Kranti gives expression to the following sentiments:- Alas! Probably I would not live any longer, Guru! What calamities are happening to you ? Has this exploiting and roguish Government imprisoned me? Do these dogs (Police officers) keep guard over me? Ah! Guru! (so saying she swoons and the curtain falls). (page 159, Vol. V).

When about to die Guru Babu addresses Raghavam, his murderer, in the following strain:--Murderer! Are you labouring under the delusion that you have been able to destroy a great movement, simply because you killed some individuals? Mad man! The workers' movement is like a great deluge. It is coming on submerging everything. Do you think that its course can be stopped, simply because you place two bricks as an obstacle. Wake up even now, make a pact with workers and establish universal equality. Before long the workers' rule is going to prevail all over the world.***(Pages 164-165, Vol. V)

Extracts from G.Os relating to "Anti-war and Quit India movement" (1940-...) Recorded with Andhra

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

G.O.No.2542. Public (General) Department. (1941) d/10.11.1941.

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Report on 'Bhimna Margamulu' (Different Ways) printed at Laksmi Power Press, Tenali and published by the Andhra Rastra (Provincial) Congress Committee, Madras.

The book under reference is a re-publication of the articles published in the'Andhra Prabha' on the 11th, 12th and 13th of April 1941 and it appears to be a translation of Mr. Jahwarlal Nehru's essay entitled "The Parting of Ways."

Dealing with the political relation-ship that has been existing between India and England, the author says that the ways of both the countries have been separate from the very beginning and traces the development of the struggle by the Indians for independence. In his opinion, the concessions granted by the English, when probed into, betray their hollowness and turn out to be no rights at all. He puts forth a vehement defence of the policy of non-co-operation pursued by the Congress since the outbreak of War in 1939 and declares ~~since the outbreak of War in 1~~ that India will not rest at peace, unless she achieves her independence and takes her proper place among the great nations of the world.

English translations of some passages selected from the book are given hereunder, to convey an idea of its tone and contents.

Tracing the relationship between the two countries, India and England, the author says: At no time the ways of both the countries have been one and the same. Their ways have always been different. So long as England carries on her rule, depending on Imperialism which lives by power, and so long as India is subject to England, different ways are inevitable (for England and India), and the relationship between the two countries during that period depends on the use of force (by England). When one party uses force and the other yields to it, it is not possible for them to go forward jointly as equals. By such force, the ruling party may bind the ruled with fetters, pull and drag (them) against their will, or sometimes the fetters may break". "Lakhs and lakhs and crores and crores of Indians having become weak and tired on account of age-long poverty and slavery abandoned fear, stood boldly against the ruling Imperialist party and asked it face to face in a challenging tone, to give back their independence..

independence which it had stolen. Before we undertake to discharge our duty and fulfil our responsibility rightly in the wide world, we must have in our hands our liberty, independence and Swaraj. Any tall talk about freedom and democracy in that wide world on the part of those who are linked to the Imperialism cannot but be regarded as camouflage and humbug. Fascism and Nazism seemed to be bad to us. Our country felt very sorry at the atrocities and cruelties committed in Central Europe. Yet, the horrible deeds in our country have been troubling our minds. How can we forget them? How can we forget our own experiences? Would not the humiliations, insults and wrongs to which our people are subjected, annoy our hearts? Would not our minds be deeply agitated? Even though Fascism and Nazism are certainly bad, we have not had the wisdom to understand that they are not so bad as Imperialism. (The expression 'చెడ్డదికాదని' in the corresponding Telugu sentence seems to be a misprint for "చెడ్డవి కావని") War broke out in Europe. We came to know that our country was declared a belligerant country without our knowledge, without the representatives of the people of India being informed of it even for formality's sake". The sky reverberated with slogans relating to the sanctity of democracy and with invocations of Independence". We Indians asked the British Government to state its War aims(literally for information, for a detailed statement of facts) so that we might decide on our future line of action. They considered these requests of ours uncalled for and irrelevant. But from their reply, we have understood the matter fairly well. They have no idea of demolishing their Imperialistic edifice in our country. So far as they are concerned, it is an impossible task and the question of handing over the sovereign power to the representatives of the people has not arisen at all.

"But are we and this Imperialism matters of to-day? Are we strangers? Our acquaintance is not of this day. We can to know each other long ago and decades and generations have passed by, since then. We have known each other, we suspected each other and hated each other. This is the previous state of our present condition. If it is to be narrated, the story covers hundred and eighty years. During

this.....

During this span of time, anger, enmity, spite and irritation have rankled and oppression and prowess have grown rampant. Broken promises need not be taken into account. How many attempts calculated to destroy the national solidarity have not been made? How many disintegrating activities and perverse deeds, intended to kill the unity of the nation, have not been instigated? This is the history of hundred and eighty years. (Page 1 to 5).

The author, criticising the way in which the Government treated, before as well as after the outbreak of War, the legislatures, especially in the provinces administered by the Congress Ministries, says: "The cries (in England) condemning the dictators and their methods are beyond limit. The British authorities are condemning vehemently the attitude of the dictators. But to-day horrible dictatorial powers and despotic rule are widely prevalent in India". "Yet we have not entertained the idea of strengthening or encouraging the Nazi leaders. We have sympathised with England in the hour of her peril and have decided not to perplex her, adding to her trials and troubles. Even though the British rulers look down upon us with contempt and though their Imperialism has crushed us, we have no enmity and no hatred against them". "We sought for an honourable settlement for both the parties. We promised Co-operation in the War effort for the defence of India on condition that an independent National Government on the lines agreed to by all the chief parties in the country should at least be temporarily established. The ultimate aim of this suggestion is that Imperialism should and". X X X "But the British probably forgetting that the word 'Empire', which is pleasant to their ears, is in our view a symbol of dependence, meanness, poverty and shame, boast of their empire and still say arrogantly that they want to protect it. I assert that it is a mistake to say that the ways (of both the countries) have now newly parted from each other. Their way and our way have never coalesced, have never been one, to justify the description that they are separate now".

On the attitude adopted by England in not conceding independence to India 'even at this hour of danger', the author says: "The ways of Co-operation and friendship are not for us. Old enmity of hundred

years....

years will stand. It will not stop there. In the course of future fights and clashes, that enmity will expand and be aggravated. Therefore, when they (the English) have necessarily to leave the country at some future time, even then there would be no concord and we would part with enmity." (Page 8 to 11)

Criticising the policy of the British Government in India, the author says: "Many obstacles have been placed in the way of the development of Indian industries from the beginning, so that the British Industries may not be adversely affected". X X X

'So long as the British remain the rulers of the country, they instigate the people to rise one against the other and create in some the vicious hope of getting the patronage and sympathy of the British Government. The British Government say that they will not coerce any important leaders and parties to give effect to a constitution which they do not like. Do you want to know if there is any alternative to this? Here it is, If the system or Government not liked by that important group is demanded by all the other people, the latter would undoubtedly be coerced. We have now to see on what lines the policy of the British Government in India has been and is still working What else have they done than coercing the entire people of India, every class, sub-class and group forming part of it? All these coercive actions are only to perpetuate their rule, status and prestige in this country. Is it not by force they put down our industries in our country for the benefit of their own? Why do they maintain an army which has for its supreme object nothing but the oppression of the people? Is it not the nature of that policy to subdue the people in the Indian States by force and make the princes of those States Supreme there? To hear that such ~~the~~ a people (viz., the British) are averse to the use of force is strange. What else is the meaning of their actions in our country?"

Stating that the British are taking advantage of the communal dissensions in the country, the author writes: 'To-deny independence, to ban democracy and to effect no drastic changes (in the constitution) the British with joy, take refuge in the pretext of this communalism and cling to the monopoly of ruling power in our country.(Page 18-25)

"There is a strange resemblance between the latest phase of Communilism in India and the Nazi methods."

X X X . X X

"The mentality behind the crusades in Europe in the middle ages, which were the outcome of a clash between Christianity and Islam, is now lifting its head suddenly in our country. Some think that it has been instigated by the British. This is a wonderful flight - a flight into the womb of time. Whoever may suffer or prosper from this, British Imperialism has been definitely benefited by it." X X "Our British rulers are applauding, favouring and protecting it."

Referring to the question of Dominion Status, and the granting of it, after war, the author says: "The idea of Dominion Status will not survive this war, howsoever the latter may end. We are not concerned with it whether it be alive or dead after the war. We would not move in its direction. We do not want to be subject to the nation which ruled and oppressed us. Their friendship does not suit us. We do not want to remain in or stick to an Empire where racial pride is rampant in or stick to an Empire where racial pride is rampant in some parts and where we are slaves. We must cut off the tie of economic domination of London".

"We do not want the peace and protection which the British Army and Navy ~~British~~ are said to be conferring on us. X X X

"If the past record which serves as a proof fails to goad us on to this resolve, the present circumstances (since the outbreak of the World War) suffice for us, to decide in this manner. The reason is obvious. Even at present, when there is war and danger, there is no change, no respect in the attitude shown by British Imperialism towards our people. If, in spite of this, should there be any people, who seek its favour and patronage, let them do so. But let us go our own way. The parting of ways has come about. The paths are different. The ways of rivalry and opposition have come into being.(page 27-28)

* * * (Sd.)
3.11.41.

Selections from GOs relating to Individual Satyagraha and August Revolution
Proscribed Literature :: Tamil books (1942)

99. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 948, Public, dated 23rd March 1942.

"Japan"

The author has nothing but praise for all things Japanese except their growing imperialism, while on the other hand he describes the chinese as a dishonest and dirty race. The book is nothing but an eulogy for all things Japanese.

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100. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 2206, Public dated 6.10.1941.

(Type the whole Pages) ED

"Sirai Anubhavangal" (The Experiences of Prison Life)

This book was written by K.Satakopan, published by the Sakti Office and printed by the Sakti Press, Madras.

The author 'Has gone to prison many times in the service of his country', and his book which is a collection of the ~~atrocities~~ articles that have appeared in the 'Hindustan' of which he was the sub-editor, contains an account of his experiences of prison life in the jails of Trichinipoly and Alipore during the years 1931-32. The book containing 16 chapters describes the treatment of both Criminal and Political prisoners.

The food served to the prisoners is said to be bad. "If the ball of rice served in prisons is split up, there will be, along with the rice, pieces of stone, mud, husk, wool and sometimes even dead insects". (pp. 18) "Some may be led to think that officers in prisons wantonly breed worms, and that after boiling the soup throw a few handfuls of worms into it and then serve it to the prisoners". (pp. 73) The author in another place while referring to the soup containing leaves of crotons etc., observes that "while seeing the tortures experienced by "C" Class prisoners it will never be clear to us what truth guides Government in treating prisoners thus".(pp.48). Enough water is not allowed to them even though they have to pump out water for their requirements in towns served by taps. "It so happens sometimes that prisoners with an ollock (a little) of water have to wash their clothes,

bathe and reserve something of it for drinking". In this connection the author exclaims "how Government most sedulously foster such an uncivilised practice inside prisons!" (pp.51).

Medical treatment is said to be given to prisoners with supreme indifference. "Inside prisons everything puts on the aspect of punishment. We are disappointed if we should think that we can meet with kindness and pity at least in the hospitals in prisons. The doctors in prisons never look like those treating patients; they appear like butchers" (pp.67). "In the Association blocks 20 or 30 prisoners are sent into a big block and the door locked at 6 in the evening is opened at 6 A.M. the next day. During this period all the prisoners have to answer their calls of nature within the block in the place set apart for the purpose. Before 8 in the night the place becomes worse than hell. Prisoners asleep have to inhale only the air blowing from this place" (pp.39).

While referring to the system of hanging criminals, the author makes the following observations: "If a murder is committed outside the prison, the officers of the judicial Department sentence the murderer to be hanged. But inside prisons, officers of that Government offer brandy and wages and cajole one to hang another. Does this not appear strange? Murder committed outside prisons is from selfish motives; while that done inside prisons is for the good of society and in obedience to a Government Order. Though we know this truth, yet it is not appealing enough. Either an individual, or a group of individuals or the Government carried on by the people cannot have the authority to destroy one created by God. How can those who cannot create derive the authority to destroy? (pp.31").

Again the author observes "that it appeared to them that the creation of the 'C' class was divined with a view to turn prisoners into brutes dangerous to society instead of reforming them and making them fit to live in society", (pp.44-45) that "unless Government reform prisons with a noble end in view, theft, murder and other offences will continue to exist and that the two contri-

(Typed the whole) PASSED 103

butory factors for this state of things are the Construction of soceity and Jail Administration". (p.118)

The author concludes by saying that "the uncivilised practice of assigning 'C' class to Satyagrahis and keeping them along with 'C' Class Criminal Prisoners could not exist anywhere else in the world" (p.119). He says it is dangerous and bad to keep the young and inexperienced of them along with criminals condemned for life, who have "the most uncivilised method of satisfying their lust". (p.120).

Selections from GOs relating to individual Satyagraha and Proscribed Literature: Tamil Books (1943). August revolt (1940-47)

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103. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1245, Public dated 7.5.1943.

"Onrupattal Undu Vazhvu"

This is a book printed at the 'Janasakthi Press', Madras, and published by the Tamil Provincial Committee of the Indian Communist Party. It consists of two sections. The first is an appeal issued by the Communist Party to the patriots of India belonging to the various parties and classes of people such as Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, workers, peasants and students, asking them to unite immediately and bring about national unity and support the national demand in order to avert the great danger of Fascist aggression which is now threatening India and secure independence. It however advises them not to indulge in destructive and anarchical activities and thereby interfere at present with the defensive measures of the country, but to participate in the defence of their motherland to the best of their ability by presenting a united national front. It also appeals to them to co-operate with the Communist Party in the national unity movement which it is starting with the object of securing the release of Congress leaders, carrying on negotiations for the formation of a National Government in India and thereby resolving the present political deadlock. It further condemns the 'imperialistic and repressive' policy of the British Government and expresses the view that the 'British Imperialists' cannot and will not defend India successfully against Fascist aggression.

The second section contains an article which deals particularly with the 'imperative need' for the establishment of Hindu-Muslim unity in the present political and military situation and wherein the Indian Communist Party appeals to the Muslim-Leaguers and Congressmen and others to co-operate with it in the movement which it has decided to start in order to bring about an agreement between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League and make the Hindus and the Muslims unite for presenting urgent common demands. Here again the policy and actions of the British Government come in

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for a good deal of adverse criticism.

The following observations to which exception may be taken find place among others in these two sections of the book:-

'Who is standing in the way of bringing together all the 40 crores of people of India and promoting the resources of the country for its defence?' Put this question to any fair-minded Indian or to any industrialist, worker or peasant. All of them will say that the British Government alone is guilty. It refuses to give up power whihh is necessary for the formation of a National Government. Instead of handing over India to the Indians with a view to enabling them to protect their motherland, the imperialistic British authorities desire to keep it as one of their colonies. Instead of bowing down before the national demand, they attacked the National Congress itself and arrested the Congress leaders. It is they that have brought about the present critical situation in the country. The anti-British feeling is making the people adopt a pro-Japanese attitude. The imperialistic policy of the British is leading India to the same fate that has befallen Burma. Suppressing the righteous indignation of the Indians, who have been denied the power necessary to defend themselves, with the help of the Police and the Military will provoke patriots to indulge in reckless acts of revenge. The imperialistic masters have set fire to the country. We should wreck the machination of Imperialism,

We should not underrate our strength. We have the strength of 40 crores of people. If we bring all the Indians together for the defence and independence of the country, the British imperialists cannot resist it. Unity alone is our strength. The only irressistible weapon that can wrest power from the hands of the imperialists who are unwilling to part with it is unity. O Patriots! Establish national unity for the defence and liberation of the country. If all of us become united, we will succ

If an agreement is brought about between the Indian Congress and the Muslim League, it will make the imperi

and reactionary authorities, who are gambling with the fate of our dear motherland, bow down before the united demand of India and will put an end to their domination and the British rule in India.

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10 Selections from G.O.s relating to individual satyagraha and August Revolt (1940-45)
Proscribed Literature :: Malayalam books (1943) 111

EXTRACTS FROM MALAYALAM PROSCRIBED BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.
G.O.No.1510, Dt.7-6-1943, Public-Confidential.
"Vijayarangam".

The attached booklet "Vijayarangam" is an anti-Jap drama said to have been enacted by the Trichur student Federation on the 16th Karkadagom 1117 on the occasion of the anti-Jap celebration at Erinjalakuda. E.K. Divakaran Potti is the author of the book and it has preface written by E.M.Sankaran Namboddiripad. It is printed at the "Guruvilasam Press, Trichur". A copy of the book was noticed in North Travancore.

The following is the theme of the drama:-

SCENE No. 1.

The residence of Sundaresan, a superior military officer of Rangoon - Sirdar Sundaresan is seated in the drawing-room smoking. His wife Bhanjmathi enters with tea-Sundaresan discloses to his wife that two Japanese had been to his house and that fortune was dawning on them. His wife asked why those two persons are not caught since they are plunderers. Sundaresan smiling, replies that they (Japs) have no hatred towards us (Indians) and it is on account of their hatred towards the Britishers that they are coming to attack us. His wife points out that though there are no Britishers in China, the Japs are attacking China for the last five years and committing various depredations and that no one can believe that the Japanese are going to liberate India. Sundaresan then reveals that he will no longer be a puppet of a Sirdar but the Burma Governor from the following day. His wife shocked and alarmed at the news, condemns her husband for betraying the country to the Japanese. His daughter Ramani and his son vijayan, a communist, enter and detail the atrocities committed by the Japs at the theatre of war, not far off. Along with Vilasini, (niece of the Sirdar) and the servant, they prepare to leave the place and take ship to India. At this juncture Sirdar Sundaresan consoles them saying "there is no use of your anxiety, that damned Britishers' ship would have left the harbour by now or else the Japanese might have sunk it". He hadds that they need not be frightened as the Japs will do them no harm. His son Vijayan loses his temper when his father informs him that

he will be the son of the Burma Governor from the next day, that the Japs are not so heinous as they are depicted to be and it is only out of their hatred towards the Britishers that they sometimes trouble us, who are found among the Britishers. The Sirdar added that he has done so considering his children's prospects. But Vijayan condemns the atrocities of the Japs as also of his father who betrayed the people into Jap hands out of the selfishdesire of getting money, pomp and power. He asks his sister and mother also whether they are willing to go over to their mother also whether they are willing to go over to their mother country to take part in the freedom struggle or to live with his father as the slave dogs of the Japs. At this time Vilasini, the niece or the Sirdar also enters and knowing the betrayal of the country by her uncle, all quit the house leaving the Sirdar alone.

SCENE II.

The Tokyo radio announces as follows:- "Rangoom has come under the Japs. It is not our intention to make it a Jap colony. The supreme noble act of recapturing Burma from the whites and entrusting it to the natives has been done here. As a crowning act of the same Sirdar Sundaresan has been announced as the Burma Governor from today. But as it is likely that enemies may launch counter-attacks from Bengal and China Jap armies will be stationed in Burma. We consider it a sacred duty to keep off Asia from the menace of the whites."

"A word to Indians. You should understand at least now that Japan is not your enemy but a true friend anxious to get freedom for you, who are unarmed and helpless, The day of your liberation will be the day you welcome us. Wait for that moment with good hopes."

The Sirdar then soliloquises as follows:- "I am today the Burma Governor. Even then my heart is not at rest. Rangoon city was made over to Jap hands without any trouble. Why then is this massacre for? It is announced in the radio that a 'holy war of the cross' is being waged for the emancipation of the

world. Whatever might be believed by those who attend to it, the truth can be known only by those who experience it. If not why were the ships with thousands of refugees, women and children sunk? Alas, all lost. Vijayan, Ramani, were you aboard that ship. But the ship might have left the harbour by the time you reached there. Bhanu, He! all have forsaken me. I am now alone - (brooding again) yes - I committed a heinous betrayal. The expectations with which I betrayed the country to the enemies have been blasted. Though I did this in consideration of my children's prospects they discarded it as trifle. I threw away the diamonds I had as if they were stones (eyes full with tears). Yes - Vijayan, Vilasini, though young, you are endowed with discernment. I have poured the tar of helinous selfishness on the sacred altar of sacrifice and pride of Bharatha. I could not atone for it (takes a revolver). Let this sinful life terminate, this body if infamy perish. (walking about thinking) Suicide? That is mere cowardice. That is no atonement for my sin. (Thinks again) Yes - my children have shown me my way. Vijaya, I am following you. I am no longer a slave of the Fascist dare-devil. Up to the last crop of my blood, I will fight the marauders. I will wash off my sins in their torrent of blood. That is my duty (runs away).

SCENE III.

A narrow lane in the Assam Pass - Vijayan, Vilasini, Bhanumathi Ramani and servant enter weary and with unclearn cloths. While they were resting out of fatigue. they hear noices which they think to be of wild beasts or of animals. They think of the Sirdar being the Burma Governor forsaking them. Then Vijayan says, "Be it a father. It is such people we ought be afraid of more than the enemies". The refugees feel much over their misery in not being able to get even some water to drink. The servant goes and fetches some water. They get frightened hearing terrible sounds in the forest. Immediately two Jap soldiers appear and pointing their rifles, one towards the servant and another to

Vijayam demand their surrender. One soldier eying Vilasini (the fair and youthful niece of the Sirdar) says that he would be content with having her. After tying down Vijayan and the servant, the robbers attempt to get hold of the lady, whereupon all make a hue and cry, knowing not what to do. Vilasini fells one by a kick and another falls down by a gun shot. Sirdar Sundaresan now enters and taking hold of the loaded gun left by the soldier tries to shoot one, but he runs away. The childrenfeel joyous and consoled at the arrival of their father and talk about their sufferings. The night was falling and while they were planning as to where to go, the Refugee Reception Sanghom of the Students' Federation enter and taking the refugees to their camp, give them food and water.

SCENE IV.

(A local country tea shop - many villagers are engaged in conversation).

While speaking about the exhorbitant price of paddy, etc. one man opines that there will be some good if Japan comes and that there will be no difficulty for rice and cloth; whereupon another wonders whether he is coming for distributing rice. Then a commoner enters and after silence for some time the conversation is resumed between him and the teashop keeper who enquires about the progress of the war. The commoner tells that Russia is about to be defeated and that the Japanese have reached the Bay of Bengal. Comrade Vijayan is asked to speak about the war. Arguments take place between him and the commoner.

Vijayan:- (to the commoner) What nonsense are you telling the folks.

Commoner:- We believe that the Japs are coming to liberate us. What does Bose say? The enemies of the English are our friends. Are you greater than Bose?

Vijayan:- A moment's thought would make us understand that what Bose says is not right. If we read the history of the Japs - the bloody history from Korea to Burma - how could we think that they will help us to attain independence?

Commoner:- Then how are we to drive the English from here?

Vijayan:- The meaning of asking for Jap aid for securing independence

for ~~the~~ us escaping from the mouth of the British to fall into that of the Japs. It would be folly to jump from the frying pan to the fire.

Commoner:- What should be do then?

Vijayan:- Joining together we should fight simultaneously against Japan with arms and against British by diplomacy.

Commoner:- That is good.

Ryot:- Have we arms for that?

Worker:- Sickle and scythe!

Vijayan:- Sickle, Scythe chopper and are - all these would be sufficient.

Commoner:- To face the big gun!

Vijayan:- I will make you understand. Firstly we should all get organised - Hindu, Muslim, and Christian - without differences - What a great power it will be if the 40 crores of Bharatha get united.

Commoner:- Can they be united?

Vijayan:- That is certainly possible. There is no difference of opinion on the part of anybody on the question of getting independence for India. There is dispute only about the future programme. By leaving aside disputed subjects and by a policy of give and take, by holding joint conferences by doing propaganda regarding the immediate programme, unity is certainly possible.

Commoner:- What next? How to oppose?

Vijayan:- It is not joke. I am telling you to oppose the enemy from the rear. Else how China resisting the Japs for the past 5 years. Guerilla war-fare is for those who are not properly armed.

Ryot:- What is guerilla war-fare?

Vijayan:- Small organised parties frustrating the conduct of the war from the rear of the enemy. Not giving facility to establish any administrative system in the conquered territory. It is this kind of guerilla warfare that throws back the forward thrust of the Japs in China and the Germans in Russia.

Commoner:- Even for that should we not get trained in guerilla warfare?

It is not possible as long as the Government is in the hands of the British.

Vijayan:- That is right - But we should demand National Government in one voice. The public of the world are behind us.

Ryot:- But are we going to get it?

Worker:- Will the English give us the power to administer.

Commoner:- Never.

Vijayan:- Never. We should get it. We can bring down the British Government to its knees, which is reluctant to transfer power even for the object of opposing Japan.

Commoner:- Then, is there not the necessity for a fight? We shall first drive away the British power. Then, standing on our own legs, we shall confront the Japs. Is it not better?

Vijayan:- Are we going to oppose the fascist thrust, the resistance to which is found difficult by the joint efforts of all other countries of the world, single handed, after fighting with the British and getting independence. There is no time even to think about it. Meanwhile the enemies, watching for an opportunity will make for this, rapidly.

Commoner:- But what should we do?

Vijayan:- Carry on anti-Jap propaganda throughout the country. Oppose the retrogressing policy of Government. Even such constitutional agitation will make Churchill, Amery, Linlithgow and other restless.

Commoner:- Is it not as a result of this our leaders are kept in jails even today.

Vijayan:- Such misdirected policy of Government should be condemned and protested throughout the land. Britain wherever she has fought till now has only 'bravely retreated' and not placed a foot forward. The real reason for this is that Britain has not been able to carry on the fight with the co-operation of the local people. But now, though they make a challenge, in case of a Jap invasion here British imperialism might think that it could feel satisfied with a parliamentary speech, after giving the country

up, as they did in Malaya and Burma. But we should not put up with that. For the immediate safety of the country we should fight and at the same time push aside the constructive hands of imperialism. At the present, India's safety is not our safety alone, but that of the world too.

Commoner:- That is right.

Vijayan:- Therefore these are our watch words - National Government to drive away the Japs - National Unity - for National Government - release of national leaders - for national unity.

SCENE V.

(A procession - Vijayan, Vilasini, Ramni and other - enter - holding flags and shouting watchwords and singing a war-song.)

The song is a call to the comrades to get ready for deiving away the Jap robbers. (Jap soldiers enter from the opposite direction). The soldiers order that the procession should not be held and as a result of defying their words a tussle ensues in which, Sirdar Sundaresan shoots down a soldier and Vijayan with a revolver attacks the others. Meantime, Vilasini falls down from a shot by a soldier and breathes her last with the grief that it was not possible to revenge the Japs. (Amidst the cries of the relatives the following echo is heard from the stage). The message of this sister has awakened the spirit of liberty of the people - from the Himalayas to the Cape - and has led them on to the fight for freedom. The ryots, workers and students have heard the exhortation to oppose the Jap free-booters. The patriots of Bharata will account for every drop of blood shed from the body of this sister, who has sacrificed her life at the feet of the motherland.

SCENE VI.

(The Peace conference at the Paris Legislative Chamber-Nehru, Jinnah, Stalin, Molotow, Chiang, Churchill, Roosevelt and others seated.)

On the proposal of Nehru and seconded by Chiang, Stalin takes the chair. Stalin after expressing gratitude to all nations that

that strove to maintain peace in the world, says that he has great satisfaction to reiterate the fact that all countries have acquired the right of self-determination as per the agreement arrived at when the war was going on, when the fruits of it are about to be enjoyed. He invites Nehru to speak as the representative of India. In the course of his speech Nehru says that Indians have no interest which is opposed to any other country. The power of ruling India is for Indians. This is our need. No country can subdue and rule another country in future. I place this only resolution before this conference today. As the representative of China, Chiang also points out the need for the right of self-determination. Jinnah too reiterates its need and says that Hindus and Muslims are hereafter brothren and that they will work conjointly for the welfare of the country. Churchill then speaking says that they fought for India's Independence and that they live even today for that, but that it will not be possible to leave Indian so soon and withdraw their interests. "As per our agreement we retain the power for determining matters concerning India! Haripolitt, disagreeing with Churchill opines that the Britishers fought for the liberty of the world and therefore the British public would not care for any agreement that does not represent the views of the general public. "The Indians who fought for our liberty are free from today onwards. I tender as the representative of the British public, their gratitude towards Indians". Roosevelt while feeling doubtful as to what should be done, desires to support Churchill so far as this resolution was concerned. He suggested that the resolution should be put to votes. Before doing so Molotov makes the following speech. "These words of Churchill are the dying flame of imperialism. There is no place for imperialism in this world order. Is it, that he (Churchill) is not prepared to concede even now that liberty - that right for self-determination, for which the people of the world fought these years paid by sacrificing many million dear human lives. It is a Himalayan blunder if anyone thinks of retaining India any longer as a slave. It is a great offence against the world - a treachery. For the safety of the

world and for peace India's independence is indispensable. I agree in full with Nehru and Haripolitt. Churchill is no more the leader of the Indian and the British people". The resolution is put to votes and is passed with the support of all, Churchill alone opposing, and Roosevelt remaining neutral. The scene concludes amidst applause and cheers.

SCENE VII.

(The Bombay harbour - many await the arrival of a ship, holding national flags and shouting watchwords and songs) Vijayan and Sundaresan are also among the crowd.

Nehru, Jinnah, and party are greeted and garlanded on landing. In reply to the reception, Nehru announces that "India is a free country from today". Jinnah says that from today Hindus and Muslims are brothren that there is no room for communal quarrels or difference and that the war only cemented their fraternity. He added that all will work as the children of one mother for the prosperity of India. The time has come when Indian culture will be a torch to the world.

* * *

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Selections from GOs relating to individual satyagraha and proscribed literature:: Malayalam books (1947) Secret (1940-45)

EXTRACTS FROM THE MALAYALAM PROSCRIBED BOOKS ANDPAMPHLETS. 129

G.O.No.3422, Dt.19-11-1947, Public. "~~Mi~~ Moplahstan".

Translation.

In the early days, consequent on the increase in the number of muslims and their distribution all over the country, the Holy ideals and culture of Islam brought about a remarkable revolution among the Hindus. History will tell us that it was the muslims who taught the great great ~~great~~ grandmothers of the present day Hindu damsels, who go about dressed in latest fashion, flashing the eyes how to clothe themselves without exposing their nakedness. In olden days the Hindu women never had any covering above the waist. This was the state of affairs till the days of Tippu's conquest. Tippu's troops who came to conquer Kerala, on seeing the Hindu women with naked breast, fell easy victims to many voluptuous actions and this made the Sultan issue orders that women should not appear in public without covering their breasts. Since Tippu Sultan was the then overlord of Kerala the Hindus were rather forced to obey the orders. It is only after this that the Hindu women strarted covering their naked breasts; but many Hindus, born in high castes continued the old custom and even to-day it has not completely ceased to exist.

Selections from G.O.s relating to Individual Satyagraha Proscribed literature :: Tamil books (1943) and August revolt (1942-43)

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102. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1741, Public dated 28.6.1943.

"Rastrapathi Subas Chandra Bose" and "Vanga Veerar".

The books deal with the life of Mr.Subhas Chandra Bose up to the period during which he was the President of the Indian National Congress for the first time. Though the author who appears to be a follower of Mr.Gandhi does not entiely agree with the political policy of Mr.Bose, he refers in highly appreciative terms to his character, abilities, ideals, fortitude, patriotism, spirit of sacrifi ce and national service, his determination to put an end to foreign domination in India and the various efforts he made to achieve this purpose. He then describes his political and other activities both in India and Europe, the differences of opinion that prevailed between him and Mr.Gandhi and the several terms of imprisonment, detention and deportation which he had to undergo in India and elseqhere on account of his political predilections. In this connection, he condemns the 'merciless' attitude adopted by the Government towards Mr.Bose on several occasions and asserts that his incarceration was responsible for his being afflicted with tuberculosis. He also gives extracts from some of the speeches and writings of Mr.Bose in order to indicate his views on political, economic and social questions and concludes the book with the hope that, during his term of office as President of the Indian National Congress, he will enable India to secure Swaraj.

In the speeches and writings referred to above, Mr.Bose is reported to have stated that India must become a Federal Republic enjoying complete independence, that she cannot be satisfied with Dominion Status, that there is no reason why she should remain within the British Empire, that so long as she remains there, it will indeed be difficult to prevent the British from exploiting her, that there can be no settlement between India and Britain, that the Indians should get ready to launch a mighty struggle on lines which are both expedient and rational and that a policy based on both Fascism and Comunism is the most suitable one forIndi

The following observations to which exception may be taken also find place among others in the books:-

The Government servants alone did not hear the call of Mother India. They did not feel the injustice done by the Government in not having punished General Dyer, who committed massacre in the Punjab, and Governor O'Dwyer who helped him. The shame caused by the presentation in England of 18 thousand pounds and a hero's swords to General Dyer, who shot down a thousand Indians, did not prick them.

The Government did not state what crime Subhas had committed. Even after having kept him in jail for 2½ years and even after he became bed-ridden, the Bengal Government were unwilling to release him.

All are aware of the fact that, after breaking the heads of people by lathi charge during the time of the civil disobedience movemnt, the Government were saying that only the minimum of force had been used.

(Mr. Bose observed at the Maharashtra Conference) Styling themselves as our trustees, our benign Britishers have been saying incessantly that we are not fit for swaraj. * * * If you ask for education, the Government say that they have no funds. If you wish to enact laws for social reforms, the white men here, who are the brethren of Miss Mayo, oppose them. If you strive for the improvement of the industry and economic condition of the country the Imperial Bank or the Railway or the Supply Department of the Government does not render any help to you. If you demand prohibition, the British Government oppose it. While the people are suffering on account of famine, food-stuffs are being exported to foreign countries. You cannot prevent it. So, independence alone can remedy all these grievances. * * * British rule exists in this country only on account of the co-operation of the Indians. The British are able to eke out their livelihood because you are buying British goods. If you cease to co-operate with them and also give up buying British goods, the whole bureaucracy will

immediately fall down and crumble. * * * Desabandhy was of opinion that we should always be opposing the bureaucracy. Unless we do so, we cannot succeed either in the constructive work or in the other spheres.

Subhas doubted whether theattitude of the British could be changed by Satyagraha and non-violence and whether India could secure swaraj unless she acted in the same way as Ireland.

(Extracts from the book on 'Samyavathi', the new policy based on Fascism and Comunism) In India there are Both the British army and the Indian army. All the officers even in the Indian army are British. The whole of the artillery force consists only of the British. Therefore, we cannot bring over the officers to our side. But the sepoys have been recruited only from the peasantry as was the case in Russia. If a peasant movement is started in this country, the army also can be brought over to our side. * * * If the struggle for freedom is to succeed, we must certainly do some important things:

(1) We must keep the British army constantly engaged. It should not be allowed to be concentrated in any one place.

(2) We must bring over at least a section of the army to our side.

(3) The struggle should be carried on simultaneously in villages and towns.

(4) The civil administration should be paralysed.

(5) The people's government (a rival government)should be established.

* * * Let us say clearly, firmly and boldly that our goal is only independence free from any connection with the British and that our aim is only to establish a socialistic republic. * * * For achieving this object, we should devise ways for obtaining the secrets of the Government. We should try to enlist in our party the majority of the people who are not influenced by the Government. We should fight with the enemy in various directions.

Selections from GOs relating to individual satyagraha and Proscribed Literature :: Tamil books (1943) August-revolt (1940)

101. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 1934, Public dated 12.7.1943.

"Makkal Vayirril Adikkade" (Hands off the people's Food)

This book is devoted to a consideration of the following topics:- 1. The scarcity of food, the abnormal rise in the prices of food stuffs and the causes for the same.

2. The attitude of the Government towards the Solution of the problem arising from the above and the motive underlying their policy of control of prices.

3. A criticism of the steps taken by the Government for solving the food problem. and

4. The fight against famine which is put a phase of the national war for self-protection.

In the first chapter the author explains the causes for the scarcity of food. In the second chapter, it is stated that the motive underlying the fixation of prices is to reduce and control the consumption of food stuffs by the people. In the third chapter, the author criticises the policy of the Government in regard to the food problem.. In the last chapter the author states that the war for food is put a phase of the major national war for self-protection.

(Type the whole page) Ed

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti War & Quit India Movement 1940 to 1947

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature-1943)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Louis fisher of America - banned - government of India.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.2761(Confidential)dated 27-9-1943, Public (Press) Depat.

The Government of India Imposed ban on the publication of articles on India by Louis fisher of America by Indian press.

Selections from GOs relating to individual Satyagraha and Proscribed literature :: Tamil books (1944) August revolt - (1940-47) 141

104. EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED TAMIL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O. No. 763, Public dated 6th March 1944

"Manavarukku".

This is a Tamil translation by V.Ramasvami and A.L.Natarajan from the English compilation of Sri.Ananda T.Henkorane of the speeches and writings of Mr.Gandhi published in the "Young India" and "Harijan". It is printed at Navalar Power Press, Karaikudi and published by Pudumai Padippakam, Karaikudi.

This book is mainly intended for students, and it contains articles of educational, social and political significance. The chief among them relate to the English System of Education and its evil effects; medium of English; the curse of foreign medium of instruction; Students and strike, Non-co-operation, Satyagraha and boycott.

An English translation of some specimen passages marked in red pencil in the book is furnished below:-

(1) From the article entitled "Unmitigated Evil"

English education has emasculated us, and constrained our intellect. This system of education has rendered us effeminate. We want to breathe the air of freedom, but the English system of education has resulted in enslaving us only. Our nation is losing its manliness. We were not slaves before the establishment of British rule. We had some sort of Freedom even under the rule of the Moghuls. Was not a warrior like Prathapasimhan born during the reign of Akbar? Did not patriots like Sivaji flourish during the reign of Aurangazeb? But during these one hundred and fifty years of British rule did one Prathapasimhan or Sivaji spring among us?

There are many native rulers in our land. Every one of them kneels down before the British Political Agent and the rulers themselves accept that they are slaves .... I won't blame them if it is said that they oppress their subjects, but I would say that the British system of Government which has as its sole aim the enslavement of others. I would beg of you to fly from the clutches of this monster of slavery. It does not matter even if you beg from door to door; rather beg or die than live in bondage. If the English should retire from this land of ours even at this moment, I will not shed a single tear. The statement that they are lording over us with our consent cannot be accepted. Let them use their Air force, navy and Land force; but they cannot certainly obtain our consent. Do not be afraid even if India is infested with robbers. Maintain your honour. Do your duty. Nothing is nobler than dying as a freeman! The English system of Education is satanic. I have dedicated my life to destroy this. (Page 26 to 28)

(2) From the article entitled "The Curse of Foreign medium"

Many evils have originated because of the foreign Government. Among them is the blighting imposition of a foreign medium (of instruction) upon the youth of the Country. History will count this as one of the greatest evils of foreign rule. It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lifes of the pupils. It has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner, therefore, educated India shakes itself from the hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it would be for them and the people. (Page 50)

* authorities alone are blameworthy. These rulers are victims too....

.f. (3) From the article entitled "on their Trial" 143

(3) From the patriot's standpoint, the students did well and bravely in making Common Cause with the people. They wxx would have laid themselves open to the charge of want of patriotism, if they had not responded to the Country's call.

The safest and the most honourable course of the student world is to leave Government schools and colleges at any cost. There is no doubt about this. The students willx be thrown out wh whenever a conflict occurs between the Government and the people. They should be ready even for this. This is the next best course for them to follow. In many pxx places the students themselves were leaders in the revolt against the Government. If they cannot become so, they must at least become staunch and true followers of the leaders. Let their facing of the consequences be as brave as was their response to the nation's call. Let them not humiliate themselves. Let them not surrender their self-respect in trying to re-enter colleges and schools from which they may have been dismissed. The bravery of their response will be counted as bravado, if it succumbes on the very first trial.

(Pages 172 and 173)

(4) From the article entitled "Questions and Answers - under Svaraj".

So long as our gold reserves are located outside India, even the savings banks can hardly be regarded as trustworthy institutions. In the event of a war, the Government will not scruple to employ the funds held by these banks without the willing co-operation of the depositors themselves. Thus, these banks may become not only utterly useless, but even a curse to the people. We can never trust Government which are not controlled by and run in the interest of the people. They cannot be depended upon to remain loyal to the interest of the people in an emergency.

~~Selections from GOs relating to individual satyagraha and ...~~

9. Extracts from the Malayalam proscribed books and pamphlets (1944)

G.O. No. 2086, Public. Dt. 8.7.1944.

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"BEFORE AUGUST 9TH"

An account of the booklet with translations in English of the introduction and specimen passages selected from the book.

The Malayalam booklet entitled "Before August 9th" is the 6th of a "National Booklet Series" printed and published by V.R. Krishnan Ezhuthachan, the general Editor at the Saraswathi Electric Printing and Publishing House, Trichur. It is priced 2as. a copy. There is no indication on the cover page of the book or elsewhere in it that the book has appeared in more than one edition.

2. The book consists of (1) an introduction which bears the initials of the general Editor 'V.R.K.', (2) the declaration of the Working Committee dated Wardha, 14th July 1942, (3) the Bombay resolution of the All-India Congress Committee dated the 8th August 1942 (4) the pledge of complete independence. In the introduction the Editor says that, at a time when a lot of malicious propaganda is going on about the 'guilt' of the Congress, it is necessary to recall to the memory of the public what the real attitude of the Congress is, and that the resolutions and the pledge of independence embodied in the book will make it clear to the readers that the truth is that the Congress is opposed to Fascism, Nazism, Militarism and Imperialism and stands for the freedom of the whole world, including India.

3.(4) The Wardha Declaration:- After the Introduction comes the Wardha Declaration of the Working Committee dated the 14th July 1942. The text of this is different from that of the resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on the same date. The former consists of 15 paragraphs. In the first paragraph, it is said that the Congress Working Committee views with grave concern the action of the British Government in dragging India into the war against the declared policy of the Congress.

(2) The second paragraph says that the Congress has repeatedly ~~policy of the~~ declared its oppostion to ~~xxxx~~ Fascism and Nazism. It says:

"The Congress sees in Fascism and Nazism a more powerful embodiment of that Imperialism against which the Indian nation has been fighting for a long time. The Congress Working Committee, therefore, cannot but condemn unhesitatingly the latest act of aggression committed by the Nazi Government in Germany on Poland".

(3) The third paragraph of the Declaration says that it is for the Indian people to decide whether India should enter the war or not, and that no foreign Power should impose a decision on India. The Declation says:-

"The Congress cannot but resist any decision thus imposed and the utilization of India's resources for purposes not agreed to by the people".

Again,

"The sympathies of the people of India are wholly on the side of democracy and freedom. But at a time when democratic freedom is denied to themselves and such limited freedom as they have is being ~~were~~ wrested from them, they cannot take part in a war which is declared to be one for freedom".

(4) Paragraph 4 refers to the declaration made by the Governments of Great Britain and France that"they are fighting to establish Democracy and Freedom and to put an end to aggression", and says that recent history is replete with events which illustrate the differences between their declarations and their real aims and intentions. The Declaration proceeds to say that the victors of the last World War entered into secret treaties to split up the Ottoman Empire though their declared aim was to champion the cause of democracy and selfdetermination and the cause of smaller States, and that they acquired additional ambitions in fighting the war.

(5) In further illustration of the above point, paragraph 5 says:-

"The British Government secretly connived at the aggression on Manchuria; in Abyssinia they tolerated it. In Czekoslovia and Spain where democracy was in peril, they deliberately betrayed it. The Powers, who had originally declared their firm faith in collective security, themselves at last undermined

and destroyed it"

(6) In paragraph 6 of the Declaration it is stated that the cry has again been raised that Democracy is in danger. The Committee agrees with that view, but it has to observe that the feelings and ideals of the people and of those who had sacrificed themselves in the war have again and again been disregarded and that the promises made to them not been kept.

(7) Paragraph 7 of the Declaration says:-

"If the present war is one for preserving imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests, and special privileges, India cannot have anything to do with it. If, on the other hand, it is one for preserving democracy and for establishing a world order based on it, then India has a vital interest in it".

"If Great Britain is fighting the war in order to safeguard and develop democracy, then surely she should put an end to her own imperialism in the countries under her control; she must establish complete democracy in India; The people of India should have the right of self-determination so as to frame a Constitution for India through a Constituent Assembly without any outside interference, and of shaping their own policy. A free and democratic India will gladly join hands with other free nations in resisting aggression, and cooperate with them in economic matters".

(8) Paragraph 8 refers to the difficult situation that confronts the world to-day and to the political, social and economic conflicts which have come into existence after the last war. The Declaration says:-

"A new world order will only be possible on the basis of stopping the exploitation of one country by another and of reconstructing the economic structure of the world on more equitable lines for the common good of all. India is the core of this problem. For, it is the outstanding example of modern imperialism. No post-war reconstruction that fails to take note of this vital factor can be a success. India with her vast resources has a large part to play in the reconstruction of the world. But she can do

it only as an independent nation, free to employ her resources in that big task. X X X Every effort to maintain imperialism in any part of the world will inevitably lead the world to a new peril.

(9) Paragraph 9 is as follows:—

"The Working Committee has learnt that many of the Indian Princes have dedicated their services and resources (to the prosecution of the war) and expressed their desire to support the democratic order in Europe. The Committee suggests that if the Princes have to declare their faith in democracy in foreign countries, they should first turn their attention to the establishment of democracy in their own States where, now, undiluted autocracy reigns supreme. That the British Government are more responsible for this autocracy than the Princes themselves is a fact painfully revealed last year. This policy is the very negation of democracy and of the world order for which Britain is said to be fighting."

(10) In paragraph 10 it is stated that the Committee does not propose to come to a final decision immediately, but cannot postpone it much longer, for "day by day India is being dragged more and more into a policy in the formulation and execution of which India has no part and to which she does not agree."

(11) The Committee then invites the British Government to declare clearly their war aims in regard to democracy, imperialism and the contemplated world order, and, in particular, how they will affect India, and how they propose to give effect to them in India immediately.

(12) The Committee points out that Fascism and Imperialism are the root causes of the terrorism now raging in the world and that it is prepared to cooperate in destroying these root causes.

(13) In paragraph 14 the Committee states that the people of India have no quarrel with the people of Germany or with the people of Japan but that they are opposed to all systems which deny freedom and are founded on violence and aggression.

(14) The Committee finally appeals to the people to end all their internal dissensions and at this perilous juncture to stand as a united nation with a firm resolve to win India's freedom.

4. The Bombay Resolution: The third item in the contents of the booklet is a translation of the text of the resolution adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on 8th August 1942. Translation of the specimen passages selected from it are given below:-

"The Committee approves of and accepts that resolution (referring to the resolution of the Congress Working Committee dated 14-9-1939). In the opinion of the Committee, events subsequent to that resolution have given it further justification and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the good of India and for the attainment of the goal of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule tends to the decline and enfeeblement of India and progressively reduces her capacity to defend herself and to contribute to the security of the world."

"India in thrall will be a symbol of British Imperialism, and the taint of that Imperialism will affect the fortunes of the United Nations. To remove the danger that confronts the world to-day it is necessary that India should be made independent and British domination over it ended. No promises or guarantees in regard to the future can alter the present situation or meet the danger".

"The A.I.C.C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India."

"The Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from demonstrating its hostility towards an imperialsix and coercive Government which holdsway over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction, for the vindication of India's

undeniable right to independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on as wide a scale as possible. All the non-violent strength the nation has gathered during the last 22 years of a non-violent struggle should be utilised in it. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership or Mr. Gandhi and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the country in the steps necessary for it."

5. The Pledge of Independence: The last portion of the booklet is a translation of the pledge of complete independence Translations of extracts from it are given below:-

> "The British Government in India have not only robbed the Indian people of their freedom, but have laid the foundations of that Government on exploitation of the common people and caused ruin to India economically, politically, ~~politically~~, culturally, and spiritually. Therefore we believe that India should sever her connection with Britain and win Poorna Swaraj or complete independence.

It is stated that the tax collected from the people is disproportionate to their income. The average income perhead of population in India is only 1a.9ps. per day. 20 per cent of India's revenues is collected as land tax from agricultural classes and 3 per cent is tax which is a heavy burden on the poorer classes. The handloom and other village industries have been destroyed, and the peasants have to remain idle for at least four months in a year. The Customs and Currency policies throw increasing burden on the peasant and are designed to subserve British interests. ~~The~~ exchange policy causes drain of India's money in crores.

"Politically, India's status has never fallen so low as under the British administration. None of the constitutional reforms has conferred real political power on the people. Even the tallest among us have to bow before the foreign authority. Freedom of opinion, freedom of association--these rights have been denied to us. Several of our countrymen have to live a

life of exile in foreign countries without being able to return to their homes. All administrative talent is being destroyed. The common people have to remain content with petty village offices or clerkships".

Culturally, the Pledge proceeds to state, the educational system of the country has torn the people away from their environments. Their training has led them to embrace the chains that bind them.

Spiritually, the policy of disarming the people has emasculated them.

The last paragraph of the pledge is as follows:-

"We consider it a sin against man and God to continue to submit to an administration which has caused our country such manifold calamity. But we realise that the most effective way to win our freedom is not the way of violence. We will, therefore, hold ourselves ready by withdrawing as far as possible all voluntary association with the British Government. We will prepare for civil disobedience including the non-payment of taxes. We feel that the end of this inhuman administration is certain if only we can withdraw voluntary help and stop the payment of taxes, remaining non-vilent even under provocation. We, therefore hereby whole heartedly resolve to comply with the instructions that the Congress may issue from time to time for the purpose of attaining complete independence."

/Sd./

Malayalam Translator to Government.

Madras,
16th June 1944.

Selections from GOs relating to Individual Satyagraha
13. Proscribed literature: Malayalam book (1947)

Extract from the Proscribed Book (~~English~~ Malayalam) "Preachings and W of 1921--Lessons of the Malabar Rebellion--Declared forfeit-- "Deshabimani Press". G.O.No.185, dt.23-1-1947.

Preachings and Warnings of 1921. Lessons of Malabar Rebell by E.M. Sankaran Nambudripad.

Preface.

This short sketch contains translations of portions from my book "A short History of the Peasant movement in Kerala" dealing with the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 published by the peoples publishing house" in 1943 at Bombay.

Today as in 1920-21 the masses are pushing forward with reinforced vigour. The strikes and struggles which are happening in different parts of the country denote this aspect of a mass revolution. The naval strike at Bombay, the recent M.S.P. strike here and the imminent strike of the N.G.Os are instances to show that its wave is striking even the military, the Police and other Government Servants. As a result of all these like the 1921 Malabar Moplah Rebellion there is a possibility of several struggles by different sections of the masses in many places all over India.

A large section of people even among the Congress and the League Circles welcomes it. Though many youths of these parties are thus drifting towards a revolution; they do not know how these are going on in their practical lives. They have not yet started even to think how people begin to stir and about the grave practical problems, which revolutionaries will have to face, when people rush forward. The 1921 Rebellion is a typical lesson for them. Any person who thinks seriously about the present political situation can never forget the Malabar Rebellion. I appeal to each Congressmen; Leaguer and Communist to study thoroughly the lessons of Malabar Rebellion and to think deep about the shapes of the imminent mass struggles.

In my opinion there are three important lessons to be studied from the 1921 rebellion.

The first is that the illiterate unarmed poor peasant can fight the powerful imperialist forces. The Moplahs demonstrated this by

their struggle which lasted for 6 long months.

Secondly if the masses were to be led by leadership which would make compromises with Imperialism then it will bring disaster to the Country.

Listening to the anti-imperialist sppeches, of the moplahs came forward. The speeches of these Congressmen preaching non-violence, showing no reluctance to abandon the Moplahs in middle of the struggle were responsible for altering the Malabar rebellion into a Moplah rebellion.

Thirdly, if a section of the public only start a struggle and if that section works under the impression that other sections are their enemies, then the struggle is sure to collapse. Instead of all the people of Malabar together fighting imperialism the rebellion degenerated to a stage when the Moplahs alone began committing certain acts capable of provoking the indignation of Hindus and hence it had to collapse . All these three lessons are very important with reference the present day political situation. This will enable to clarify how the struggle will be made to collapse by the Congress League leaders who pursue a policy of compromise with Imperialism and by the League leaders who try to turn all their mass struggle against the Hindus to-day, When all sections of the masses are surging restlessly forward.

On the other hand if the Congress and the League were to castaway the attitude of compromise, they (Congress and League) would be able to lead a mass struggle which will then end the British rule and the atrocities of the native princes, stop-landlordism and black marketing, and thereby secure them (masses) independence, food and employment. I appeal to the laks and laks of countrymen both in Congress and in League to make them (leaders) do this.

Calicut.
D/ 16-8-1946.

AUTHOR.

Progress of the Rebellion.

It is the fashion of some "Marxists" (eg. the Present Revolt of Malabar" by Soumyendranath Tagore) to picture the 1921 Malabar rebellion as an undiluted Peasants' struggle directed against the

landlords. But the fact is otherwise.

It is beyond doubt that the struggle of the peasants of Malabar against the Jenmies produced the 1920-21 mass movement, and the rebelion which resulted and lasted for about 5 months in south Malabar. Unfortunately that History still remains to be written: We have got to-day some books written by officials only). I will extract certain quotations from the book written by late C. Gopalan Nair, a Government pensioner.

The then Collector also recommended that this book should be read by every one.

Regarding the early events of the rebellion, that author says like this "The Police searched the house of V. Mohommed the local Khillafat Secretary for a gun said to have been stolen from the Pockkottur Kovilakam (palace) belonging to Nilambur, Tirumalpads. This gave a chance to the Moplahs who were waiting for an opportunity to demonstrate the strength of the Khilafat movement. Armed with knives, swords and spears many hundereds of Moplahs joined together, and with suprising speed reached the palace, declaring that the search was illegal and unnecessary. It is known that they collected men from the neighbouring places and villages by beating the drum used in the mosque. Threatening to do away with the landlords, they extorted many articles from them. They threatened the Police Circle Inspector. The Inspector realised the necessity to behave tactfully.

"No proof is available so far to substantiate the rumour that there was unrest among the peasants, but it appears that there is some trouble, but cannot say what it is. There was some trouble between ~~the moplahs~~ of Pookkottur, and Tirumalappad, the Pookkottur estate manager. The Police search at the instigation of the manager only sharpened the ~~ill-feeling~~. V. Mohammed wreaked his vengences by exploiting the Khilafat movement and the fanaticism of his co-religionists. The Moplahs threatened the manager and became uncontrolable demanding that their wages should be paid at 9'o' clock that night itself. Thus on 2nd August 1921, the Civil Administration came to a standstill in a remote forest village known as Pookkottur (pages 21 to 23).

The small autobiograpies he has given about rebel leaders in pages 76 to 80 are worth our attention and are eye-openers.

"Variyankunnath Kunhamed Haji belongs to a family traditionally well known for rebellion. He was transported for life with his father while very young for having taken some secret part in a former rebellion. When he returned about 6 or 7 years ago, he was not allowed to stay permanently in his own village, But after some time he returned to his own village and earned his living as a cart-man.

"When the Khilafat movement started, he joined it and became an important worker. He organised meetings and became a very important Khilafat leader of Ernad. When the rebellion started suddenly he became king. It was after killing one khan Bahadur Chekkuty a retired police Inspector, that he declared himself the king.

"He proclaimed himslef the king of Hindus, the Amir of the Mohammadans, and the Col. of the Khilafat Army. He had a fez-cap Khilafat dress and badge and a sword in hand. He had complete self-government in Ernad and Valluvanad.

"His proclamation was to effect that as he had come to know that his subjects had suffered a lot on account of robberies and decoities and hence that year (1921) he willnot levy any tax except donations to the war fund, and that from next year everyone should pay tax. He gave orders to the peasants to harvest all the standing crops from the lands of the Tirumulpad. The Harvesters were paid their wages in cash. The paddy was used for the consumption of the Haji's Army. He issued passports to those who wished to go out of his country. But the cost of these passports varied according to the status of each indiviudal.

"He was arrested on January 6th 1922, and shot dead on January 20th. He was the most important of the rebel leaders. The Histories of two others, who are not so important, are also narrated below.

"Kumarambathoor Seethi Koya Thangal assumed himself the charge of the capital of a Khilafat principality. He issued orders warning that the country was theirs and that no dacoities and mischiefs should be committed thereafter. The three persons who were involved in the Elambalasseri Rebellion were punished by his own military

court. These culprits were ordered to be shot. But it was arranged that only empty cartridges should be used. The terror stricken prisoners received the shots and fell flat on the ground. When they got up, they were found quite unhurt. The Thangal said that it was due to his wonderful (spiritual) powers and said that the attacks by the British Army on his men will also be like that. He was caught and shot dead.

"Chambrasseri Imbichi Koyal Thangal conducted his court on the side of a barren hill, between Tirur and Karuvarakundu. He had about 4000 followers hailing from the neighbouring places. About 40 Hindus with their hands tied to their rear, were taken to Thangal. The charges against them were that they supplied tender coconuts and milk to the sepoys. 38 were sentenced to death. He supervised that massacre by sitting on a rock by the side of a well. He saw his people cutting their heads and dropping them into the well. Thus all the 38 were killed. Among them was a headconstable. The Thangal bore some old grudge against him. His head was neatly split and thrown in. Thangal surrounded (surrendered) at Melattuor and on 20th January 1922, he was shot dead." It is not possible, for the Moplahs who are religious fanatics and whose only aim in life is to struggle and do away with khafars, to possess leaders like Mohommed, the Khilafat secretary who led the moplahs against the manager who was disliked by the people, Kunhamad Haji who killed a retired police inspector, Seethi Koya Thangal who punished the robbers belonging to his own party, and Chembracheri Thangal who killed 38 persons for the reasons that they helped the sepoys. How the auguments of the officials are faulty can be seen, if we take into account the number of temples which were either destroyed or polluted by the rebels, during their reign of ~~five months~~. On November 14, 1922 in the Legislative Council, the Government spokesman stated as follows:- "No details have been collected but the number of temples either destroyed or poluted will be more than hundred. The number may be more but for obvious reasons Governments have purposely declined to gather all these details"

"The rebellion was spread over 220 villages. If we calculate 5

temples per village on a very moderate estimate. These hundred temples become only 9 per cent of the total. In this, it is not possible to say how many temples were treated as poluted on the suspicion that they were occupied by the Army. Let it not be taken into account. This 9 percent is very small even considering only these which were either destroyed or polluted purely on reglious grounds. This number is surprisingly small, when it is taken to consideration that a communal riot broke out and that the rioters were enjoying unquestioned sway during several weeks at the outset.

This is also clear if we take into account the destruction caused to the ordinary people. The author says as follows :- in the last mentioned book in page.58.

"As it was impossible to gather, the date from the places where actually the rebellion took place, I am not able to say correctly how many people were killed by the rebels. But the information granted by the Government is that between 500 to 600 people lost their lives.

"Among the killed, no details of women and children were taken (Madras mail dated 14-11-22). It is not a grave affair, if 500 to 600 people lost their lives in a communal riot which was lasted for five months in a place where there is a population of 5 lakhs of Hindus. The importance is fully known when we think, that these 500, 600 include the retired inspector khan Sahib Chekutty and 38 people killed by Chembrasserl Thangal for having helped the Army. It is impossible to say how many of these 500 to 600 were killed for mere XX religious reasons. Any how the number cannot be very large.

What about the conversion? Arya Samaj priest Pandit Hrishi Ram in a letter states as follows:-

"If the cases of compulsory conversion is considered there WAX are 1766 instances in the Arya Samaj register itself. The number is more than 2500, referring to all the district relief committees (page.118 in last mentioned book). If it is a communal riot, the converted number 2500 is negligible in an area where there are 4 lakhs of Hindus.

All these do not mean that there ~~are 4 lakhs of Hindus. the~~ was no religious fanaticism in the

rebellion. Though there is a possibility of exaggeration of the number of Pandit Haishri Ham, he being an Arya Samajist. No other cause except religious fanaticism is responsible for the forcible conversion. There is no surprise if there are a few religious fanatics in the Moplah community. Especially those who are ~~xgx~~ highly religious, illiterate and socially secluded - who think that conversion or destruction of each kafir is a step forward towards his salvation. A portion of the loss of human life has to be assigned to this account. It can be definitely said that the inciting power behind the rebellion was not religious fanaticism, and religious fanaticism was only a subsidiary source of the rebellion.

The prompting power of the rebellion.

Then what was the inciting power behind the 1921 rebellion. Some who are termed as "Marxists" may say that it was the discontentment of the peasants. I do not wish to refute it. Mr. Longan has clearlydescribed half a centruary back the reasons for the peasants discontentment and its extent. But the Government had not taken any measure redress it. But if this discontentment were not the inciting power for rebellion, then the Moplahs could not have rallied in such a large numbers round the Congress-Khilafat flag with a definite resolve. It has to be remembered that many of the Khilafat leaders (such as late K. Mahavan Nair) C. Gopala Menon and Kesava Menon) were also leaders of the peasant movement. Of the two resolutions which were passed after heated discussions at the Malabar District Political conference held at Manjeri, one was in favour of non-cooperation movement and the other for the reformation of tenancy. It was only after this conference in South Malabar, inumerable committees (Khilafat and Congress), even exceeding 1938-40, sprang up one after another. Every speech made by each one of the Congress ~~Kix~~ Khilafat leaders was double edged sharp sword pointed against the British Government and the Jenmi. This was what gave the much oppressed Moplahs a new hope and ~~solgah~~ solace. They joined this organisation in large numbers. This was a splendid example of the present political movement of the Masses.

But the "Marxists" have to reply to certain small but pertinent questions.

Why did this organisation take shape only in a place where the moplaus are in a majority? It is not possible to conceive that the British Official supramacy and the landlordism, its creature, have been showing indulgence towards the Hindu peasants. The numbers of Hindus peasants in other taluq is as large as Moplahs in certain places of Ernad Walluvanad and Ponnani Taluqs. The Hindus had also to suffer as much of the exploitation and oppression by the landlords and officials as the Muslims. When the Muslim peasants rose up in a body, how were the Hindu peasants entrapped in the propoganda that this rebellion was not against the Government and landlords but it was against Hindus? It is not possible to refute that the Hindus generally kept away from the rebellion and that they were lagging behind even during the organisation and agitation prior to the rebellion. Compared to other areas, it was largely in muslim areas that many congress-Khilafat committees were formed and members were enrolled. Besides all these why was there some compulsory conversion? As I said before conversion could not form a part of an untinged peasant organisation.

Each question that I have asked has to be replied by every "Marxist". I don't profess that I am capable of replying these questions here. This subject has to be studied more carefully than what I have been able to do. But the points as far as I was able to study, have led me to the following conclusions.

1. As a community, the Moplahs are more organised. As a result of their common prayer, common feasts and parties and their sense of equality, unlike their brothers in other communities, they posses a tests for organisational work more than the brothern of other communities. Thus when the political leaders brought the message of struggle and organisation, the moplahs accepted that message with the firmer resolve.

2. The Muslims have got more justification to stand united behind the Congress and Khilafat, because one slogan given out by the national leadership is a slogan dear to each religious muslim i.e. not to touchthe Turkey-Khilifat" As far as a Hindu peasant is concerned,

his problem was confined to merely the freedom from the clutches of the Bureaucracy, of the officials and the landlords. But, as for the Moplahs it included the problem of saving their religious head and to wage a holy war against those who polluted their religious faith.

3. Though the above two are the reasons adequate enough for the existance of a firm organisation in moplah areas, they do not explain why the rebellion took a turn to the shape mentioned above? This problem is more complicated.

4. The important means to understand the direction of the rebellion is to observe which are all the sections that fell in behind the joint agitation started by Congress-Khilafat and the tenant organisations.

These sections can be divided in the following ways:-

1. a) The Hindus of Malabar under the Central leadership. They are the Vakils and those who live by their intelligence, who are extracted from the sub-tenants i.e. (kanam-tenants). They are the right type of "Bourjouists" Nationalist leaders". With the message of an organised struggle these leaders into the midst of the masses, with severe hatred against the official supremacy with a sincerity for a struggle against the latter, overjoyed at the masses having wonderfully well responded to their call for struggle, with a fervent hope that they will be able to control the masses within the four walls of non-violent non-cooperation and with disinterestedness towards the needs and aspirations of the ordinary tenant, in spite of their abhorence against the oppressive landlords. The leaders were moving with the mass till they resorted to using their own ways of struggle i.e. till they abandoned the policy of non-violence. As soon as the struggle got out of their control, they left the masses to themselves.

b. Those Moplahs under the same leadership were closely similar to the above mentioned Hindu Leadership, the difference being that it had taken deeper roots among the muslim masses. They stood for the ordinary tenant. Hence they held more advanced views. They never left the masses. On the other hand, they tried to confine themselves

within the bounds of non-violent non-cooperation. Mohammed Abdul Rahiman the top most of these leaders, is even to day revered by the moplahs.

c. Most of the sub leaders in the rebellion area were Moulvies, Thangals, and Hajis and other religious heads. Though they were all actual anti-imperialists what they thought and said were all based on religion. As for religion, it had the tremendous capacity to organise Moplahs. Some among them might have been cruel and some opportunists. Most of them would have turned out to be excellent peasant workers if they had a capable centralised, leadership. The boldness and capacity for organisation they expected during and prior to the rebellion, show that in their death, the peasant movement has sustained irreparrable loss.

d. Mere ordinary people; a section among them might have been self-assuring or social enemies. But almost all were opposed to the landlords and such were peasants who were anti-Government.

e. Ordinary Hindus and middle class leaders, were closely similar to their leaders. They deserted the movement on the arrival of the army soon after the outbreak of the rebellion.

From this, it is almost clear why this movement assumed the shape of a little bit of a communal warfare during its final stages. The Moplahs found that their Hindu brothers, both the leaders and ordinary people, had abandoned them and gone away. The Army began to hunt after them. The Hindu neighbours helped the army against them. Naturally the Moplahs got angry with them. These fanatics and extramists among the rebels fanned their anger. Hence there is no wonder that there ensued anti-Hindu action at the stage. That the extent and amount of anti-Hindu actions have been only so small, is surprising indeed.

That was how the greatest mass movement that ever took place in British Malabar changed itself into a most ill-fated and useless mass struggle. In order to answer the question whether anyone has intentionally cheated and if so who has done it will require a deeper study of the matters. But one thing can definitely be said. Behind these ill-fated happenings there remains the ignorance of the central national leadership of India and Malabar regarding the true nature

of the might of the masses who were woken up by them. The leaders got as their followers a people with a different nature quite controry to their expectations. But the leaders thought that they were the type of followers suited to them. Similarly the masses did not receive their leadership that they expected but they presumed that it was the leadership best suited for them. To learn that their leaders were not omnipotant not the masses were quadrupuds, south Malabar has to swim across a river of blood. For ten years, there were no civil liberties, thousands lost their lives and many more had to suffer untold miseries. The reason for this was that even though the masses had their own organisation, the nature of their leadership was some-thing different. Like some of those officials die hards if anybody were to say that this is a communal riot, stirred up by the Khilafat leaders, it would mean that they deny in toto the very existence of this mass rising. To gain say like ~~obrtain~~ certain Marxists, the fact that this organisation assumed the terrible shape of the communal rioting is to falsify the nature of the actual shape it finally took.

Both these situations are not acceptable to a Marxist and he will never commit himself to either.

/True Copy/

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Proscribed Literature: Malayalam book (1947)

Extracts from the ~~English~~ Malayalam (proscribed) book "Rakth Geetham", 181
G.O.No.1668, dt.29-5-1947. (Mis.)

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Raktha Geetham.

(Blood Song).

Publisher:-- Secretary, Progressive Literature Society,
Chirakkal Taluk,

Price: 2 annas. January 1947.

The Pledge.

Oh, the sacred Red Flag which is the life of the poor, fly aloft in the sky for long.

These comrades shall stand under thee and give battle to Imperialism unflinchingly.

Oh, When are we going to have any scheme here which can give relief to the oppressed?

When will the land-owning and the capitalist classes disappear, and the sun of equality rise?

When will these workers wield the sceptre and redeem this land of Bharath?

Until such a time comes, we shall rally round thee prepared to lay down our lives.

Nothing can shake us from that resolve. May the awakened spirit of Comradeship which can root out the woes of the poor live long in the effulgence of this venerable red flag.

Srinivas - Azhicode.

Coming!

The hunger battalions are coming nearer and nearer in order to kill (their) foes and win (their) rights; the oppressed people are coming unitedly to win complete independence for India. This Imperialism in the name of Government has been showering death for 200 years. This Imperialism has been flourishing in the blood of the masses of workers and peasants. It has sided with greedy oppressors and resorted mercilessly to firing. This Imperialism has caused deaths by starvation in this land of India abounding in natural resources.

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Imperialism is the wireless-puller or many plundering Indian princes. This Imperialism maintains its rule through the jugglery of constitutional reforms. This Imperialism creates splits among brothers and reigns supreme among them. It will not be allowed to resume power hereafter. Day by day, we are coming nearer and nearer. May the foreign rule be doomed. May the wicked class of oppressors be banished from the land! The hunger battalions are coming nearer and nearer in order to kill (their) foes and win (their) rights. The oppressed people are coming unitedly to win complete independence for India.

Putthalath Narayanan.

Take up the sword!

You peasants, who are always toiling in your fields; you, whose eyes are ever on your crops; you, who are the little lights shining in rows upon the broad and sacred chest of the motherland; you, who hold the plough in your hands, you must change it for the Sword which can shed red blood. Get out quickly for the field of battle. Hold your head high very bravely. You must reach the battle field forthwith and wage a frightful war. You should not rest till you do it. Heasten forward like fire with chests strong enough to shatter even hard iron. When we thus advance with our chests hard as steel thrust forward, not even the Himalayas can obstruct us. Our enemies will shiver with fear when they hear our terrific shouts of victory. They are dust, they are straws, which a light wind can blow off. There, we behold the flight of golden steps leading to the new era of equality in this land. Let us rise, and be in the lap of a bright future of unrivalled charm. The struggle is on, come, oh, heroes of agrarian struggle (peasant warriors) Oh, you brethren! capture the waste lands in order to appease the hunger of those who are suffering the pangs of death. The people who are being consumed by the flames of hunger are millions all the world over. New times and a new world are rushing in everywhere rapturously in all their novelty. We must rewrite our laws; we must chalk out new lines of justice. That Statute Book written by hard-hearted jenmies is a store-house of treacherous murder. The tricks are out.

It is exploitation everywhere. Throw away (that) Statute Book. Let us in a trice secure an equal share of land and equality of rights. Parayangatt Kunhi Raman.

May it come!

Why has it taken so long for the 'struggle' to come the struggle that is to raise the poor to the skies? Let me once stand erect before a society hallowed by equality and fraternity. May cataclyams destroying autocracy which gnaws away humanity come about frequently. The peasants, the lowly, roam about as ghosts in the necropolis of landlordism devoid of the means of progress. The poor workers are an oppressed lot, groaning under the weight of poverty and pining away from anxiety. May a revolution take place which can shatter inequalities. That sacred day will be celebrated all over India. How long are we to plod within this vast Empire carrying the burden of slavery? If we want complacently day after day for freedom to come, we shall find ourselves in the depths of thraldom. What can we get by bargaining? We shall no longer suffer helplessly. We must fight. Blow the bugle of unity; Friends, organise a strong and united front, and march rapidly forward. Imperialism and capitalism will collapse. Then only can the poor enjoy that nectar of freedom.

Srinivas, Azhicode.

<u>The labourer</u>.

I am the industrious worker. I toil day and night converting my blood into sweat. The earth is mine by exclusive right. I am the brave labourer.

Though perpetual penury is my pal in life's journey, I shall with a mind actusted solely by the sense of duty hasten onward along with my comrades.

Though the chains of slavery are on my arms, these are strong enough to break those chains into pieces with a pull and set myself free

The fruits of the labours of workers go into the purses of the exploiting class. The workers remain in the pits of starvation while

employers live in their mansions.

My mind is longing to destroy the code of justice of the capitalist exploiting classes who beat and oppress labourers but do not give them their (rightful) wages.

Those who toil daily in slushy fields and raise green crops in order to feed the country are living as mere skin and bones.

My peasants remaining helpless in society in the social order of the landowning class are being mercilessly persecuted.

I am coming presently wearing my armour and in the company of my comrades to burn down this vile and wicked social order and reduce it do ashes.

To convert earth into a paradise and to secure lasting prosperity for my brethren I have dedicated my life and am getting ready to fight to achieve that objective.

Capitalism which tears that undefiled human justice in pieces will not be allowed to continue any longer, as also such distinction as the Haves and the Havenots.

I shall bring about a bright future in which man will not oppress man, there will be no strife between classes and lasting happiness will be fostered.

You who are intoxicated with the grandeur of wealth, you have had your all. I am coming presently, accompanied by my comrades, as a body-to cut off your head.

I am the industrious worker. I toil day and night converting my blood into sweat. The earth is mine by exclusive right. I am the brave labourer.

Puthalath Narayanan.

Secretary,
Progressive Literature Society,
(Purogamana Sahithya Samithi)
Chirakkal Taluk.

/A true translation/

Malayalam Translator to Government.

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Proscribed literature: Malayalam items (1947)

EXTRACTS FROM THE MALABAR PROSCRIBED BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.
G.O.No.3164, Dt.20-10-1947, Public.

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2.

"The Frenzy of the Malabar Special Police".

(Ottamthullal poetry) by Cherukad.

(Translation is prose.)

When the Britishers first arrived here as merchants with all their beg war pomps, the princes brought disgrace to the chivalry of heroes like OTHENNAN, and bowed down before them (Britishers) forgetting patriotism, selfrespect and dignity and looking for their own self interest and began receiving money grants. These leaders who received grants and (referring to Prince) who have been made the landlords to collect the dues (pattam) from the country by the Sahebs who came to deceive them, had with them swords and shields but if they were to touch it without the permission of the British, they had to go to Cannanore (Cannanore Jail)

Why should the King who collects the dues (paddy dues) require a sword to cut and a shield to protect? He (King) filled his dark room throughout with the swords and shields. The Thampuran who professes himself to be a Lord in the country, enjoyed till now, the dues collected every year and the money grants received from the Britisher. This Raja among the landlords lives happily, adorned by the share collectors, who goes after the houses of the peasants like hunting dogs, by the secretaries who wait all through, in front of all the court verandas with record bundles, by the amins, peons, munsifs, sub-judges and Honourable High Court Judges and the leading lawyers, etc. The "Whitemen's," ration and control did not effect him. It seems the birth right of the field in which Chemmaran sows the seeds and harvests belong to this landlord.

The Congress cheated! Kelappan cheated (Reference to P.C.C. president): they made that the 'varams' dues will not be got hereafter. There was a feeling of disappointment on the face of the Raja who read the MATHRUBHOOMI of that day. "Is it that even the CHEMBOT Raja (fictitious name) should search for the ration shop and purchase the ration?" and he immediately called "Kammara! " "Kammara!" enquiring about his kariasthan (Secretary) KAMMARAN NAMBIAR.

KAMMARAN appeared before the landlord THIRUMUMBU--a respectable term for highly placed people and stood with all respect. That hero among the peasant oppressers with due respect removed his upper cloth from his armpit and tied round his big belly.

"What a surprise! Kelappan says that paddy need be given to the depots". Oh, the Congress thus allowed the peasants a ladder and thus raised their status." Placing his finger on the nose (shows surprise) CHEMBOT THAMPURAN ~~CONTI~~ continued saying "Tell me what can we do with this 10-ounce rice and how to continue hereafter our weekly celebrations, about 50 festivals, birth-days, anniversaries, etc. I am sure that this will encourage the agitating peasants. If we are to get the whole waram in cash we have to go in for the dirty smelling rice packed in bags and this will end our getting of Rs.200 and Rs.300 per cart. The Congress has hit us very badly through the societies. Find out some solution to escape even if it be by bribing..

Nambiar smiled and said "Why are you sorry, is it going to happen like that? They should give 'varam' in kind (paddy) CHEMBOT RAJA TOO was a little satisfied "Even though the Congress is ruling, orders are issued even to-day by the white men. The officials thirst for bribe has not ceased even to-day. Can a devil become an angel within two seconds? If you have money to bribe, there is nothing that cannot be done. If no civil case is made out it can be changed into a criminal case by favouritism. Those who refuse to measure 'waram' can be wished off in a river of blood. It is true that for the names sake the Congress is ruling the country but there is the Police, the Magistrate and besides many armed soldiers and let them walk into the country. If KORAN and the coolies, who go with him to collect the shares (refering to waram) are given As.8 per head to drink to-day they will beat, and make them dance in a pool of blood of those who refuse to give waram. We will win even though they are likely to retaliate. You must give me permission and then I will do certain things, Is it not the police, that we have get in our

country. who do not hesitate to strike on the face of Gandhiji and smash it even if he tries to avoid it. Whatever the Congress may say, it is not applicable to the Kovilakam,

Having heard this the CHEMBOT RAJA (Leopord) got up and stood erect and like Patel (Sardar Patel) with authority sneezed his nose eight to nine times. "This rogue of a peasant should be taught a lesson, and there is money for this in the Kovilakam" saying only so much to KAMMARAN the Thampuran took a deep sigh of relief.

About 50 black sturdy fellows, went and drank in a shop at KARIVELLOOR. Like an army of the devils they entered the houses of the peasants. Koran who collects the shares will go and give an order to measure out 'waram'. If they (peasants) say, they have got money instead of paddy there continuous beatings follow. At KARRIVELLOOR, this oppressive army carried on many a 'Frenzied Scenes.'

When the goondas of those janmis (landlords) created disturbances in 2, 4 or 6 houses, the peasants after discussing joined together and came out to maintain the honour of the country. Even though they informed the police with all the sincerity that the goondas of these miserly landlords are trespassing at a time when the Congress is ruling the country, they could not get any protection, and hence the peasants determined to face it themselves and got prepared.

ANJARAKKANDI KUMARAN made a stick and came out without any fear. Along with him Mani also came out of the house with the broom stick. MOOTHORAN came forward with his crude walking stick. VELANDI RAMAN removed one stick from the fencing and got himself prepared for the battle. Kankat Matha, like goddess Kali came out of the gate carrying the sickle. PULIKUTTI MADHAVAN pulled, one spear from the roofing and started running. KAMMALI with a 'Koduval' which she came across jumped across the doorstep and ran. KUNHAMINA got the pestle, placed it on the shoulder and walked enthusiastically. Thus a peasant army was formed on hearing this and waged a battle against the oppressors, who were

going about fully drunk. The peasants returned home after driving those share collectors who ran for their lives.

"Nobody is giving 'waram' and if they are approached they come up and beat and smash the eyes and noses. The peasants have become very unruly elements, and hence Oh! Saheb, protect us from these sorrows. The police and the military should accompany to collect the shares (pattam) and then only it is possible to contunue in the land." Such complaints were narrated to the 'Saheb', by the Secretary of CHEMBOT Raja.

"Fifty Malabar Special Police and the Circle (Circle Inspector) should go to collect the shares for CHEMBOT RAJA. If there are peasants who are bold enough to do such things right under my nose they must be destroyed and burnt to ashes." Thus said the Saheb in anger.

Orders were passed and the Secretary (Kariasthan) started to collect the shares.

The coolies who carry the paras (big measures used in measuring paddy) and the bags were led in first by Koran who was fully boosed by drinking toddy, went to the house of CHEMMARAN and on reaching there gave him two beatings, "You blackguard of a potter, measure out the 'waram', measure out the 'waram' belonging to the Kovilakam. If not, your bones will be broken to pieces by me. Where are your accomplices to-day? We have our soldiers with us. Come on, bring the paddy bags", so saying gave two more weighty blows. "If you say that you have got money instead of paddy you will be killed, you rascal! You knave!" Thus he was attacked by the leader of the goondas sent by the landlord.

"Why this unruly attitude" asked CHEMMARAN, with a slight change in his attitude. "Who are you to beat? Who are you to kill? Get out of the house. I have sold all the paddy to the society, and there is not a grain here; get the money and clear out. If not there is a Court and seek redress there. Clear out of the house." CHEMMARAN caught hold of a crude stick found nearby and

and said:- "Get me back my writ document given by the landlord (which is a sort of right of enjoyment over the land called 'Muri') and take the money; don't break your head due to drunkness."

"Won't you give the 'waram'" then ordered Koran the leader of the goondas. CHINDA! Run up and call those people in the field to come in here. CHANDA! pluck all tender coconuts for them to drink. These undesirables will all run and hide when they see the muskets. You fellows! THAMPURAN will burn and destroy all your pride."

Immediately a batch of Malabar Special Police arrived there shoutíng, with muskets. Their horrible fiendish (satanic) atrocities, turned the place to a frenzied scene.

CHEMMARAN was tied with a rope to a tamarind tree, and beaten with lathies, hit with the butend of the musket, slapped on the cheeks, and oppressed by the drunken Malabar Special Police to their hearts content. They jumped over the steps and got inside the rooms, and took whatever they saw before them and broke plates, vessels, and whatever fell before their eyes. One bottle of honey kept for medicinal purposes was licked by four or five of them. A fair fellow among them pocketed, a packet of saffron; One clever fellow, put 5 or 7 peacock feather under his armpit. Another short fellow took the tusk of the boar and stealthily kept it saying that it is good for making the handle of knife. The box was thrown outside and broken open and a purse containing money intended to give for 'waram paddy was taken away for drinking arrack. A fowl which was found sitting on a mango tree, was shot dead. and its legs tied and was carried away by another YAMA'--like fellow (fellow who can be compared only to that of God of Death). The grinding stone, and the mortar were thrown into a useless well without any hesitation by another hero. Another fellow who saw some kanji drank it closing his eyes. Another hefty fellow kicked the water-pot, like a football. KORAN, who was searching for the paddy bags intended for seeds got it, and came outside dragging it. What all that is intended to prepare kanji

was searched for and put in abag and four or five coolies carried away the same without any mercy. Thus completing the 'waram collection' they walked out with all glory.

Chemmarathi (wife of Chemmaran) who went to take her bath accompanied by her child returned and on seeing the state ofi affairs started crying. Those rifrafs who pose themselves as disciples of Gandhi, on hearing this tom-tomed throughout the country saying that it is unable to bear the Communist atrocities in the country, let the Malabar Special Police the virtuous army be successful all throughout! But the peasant say "O, you "disciples of Gandhi!" the countrymen will no longer brook this frenzied attack with patience, any more."

MALABAR SPECIAL POLICE SHOULD BE MADE TO RENDER ACCOUNTS.

It is only learnt through books that heinous act such as cold blooded murders, looting of houses, burning of foodstuffs,etc., destroying reading rooms, raping of women have taken place in those places conquered by the Nazis. It is only read in papers that in 1942 August, such acts were done by the Police and the Military at Baliya. Satara, Chimu, Ashti and other places. But now it has been possible for us to see personally, that the soil of Malabar is being soaked with the blood flowing from such cruel hands. This is what the Malabar Special Police is carrying on in North Malabar for the last four months.

As a result of such wild hunt the peasants had after to discard their houses and huts and leave the country. We discard their houses and huts and leave the country. We had to lose over 50,000 seers of paddy, due to the inability to carry on the jungle cultivation which is done once in a year. Whatever has been cultivated is being destroyed by the wild animals and cattle for want of proper watch. The Malabar Special Police also is stealing and eating the same.

What for is this uproar? Why these repressions were started? The only fault of the peasant is that they did not dance to the tunes of the landlords who are the servants of the British Imperialism

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~~They said that they would~~ They refused to contribute for illegal collections. They said that they would not tolerate slavery to flourish as of olden days.

They said that they would only pay a share of the paddy in the jungle cultivation. as recommended by the 'Kutti Krishna Menon Committee' appointed by the previous Congress Ministry. They (the peasants) decided to cultivate if the landlords did not give the share as agreed above. Who are these cultivators? They are the warriors who have stepped into the battlefield to fight against the British beaurocrats who are the enemies of the country. These numerous peasants who once were ignorant and weak living in hilly tracks are to-day organized under the leadership of the Communist Party and Kisan Sangh and are able to challenge Imperialism and its satellites. By walking several miles, they used to reach even the towns of Cannanore, Tellicherry, Calicut etc., places, for taking part in the Anti-Imperialist demonstrations. In all peasant struggles they used to render assistance to their oppressed brothers.

It is but natural that Imperialism and persons of vested interest are endeavouring to destroy these peasants. But what about the leaders of Congress Organization who are the enemies of Imperialism? However much we think. as to why they should attempt to screen the atrocities done against the peasants, we are unable to understand. How many reports have been published by the nationalist paper Mathrubhoomi about the devil dance carried on by the Malabar Special Police for four months. Did K. Madhava Menon and M. P. Govinda Menon who made much noise about the Communist atrocities, expose even a single incident about the Malabar Special Police in the Assembly? Sri Kelappan on the other hand exhibited a tendency to make much about the "Communist atrocities" and to screen the atrocities of the Malabar Special Police. He devoted his time for writing three articles about the Communist atrocities; but not a single high handedness of that Malabar Special Police was protested. Not even that, he even appeals to the public to send plenty of reports about the Communist

atrocities and the Press to publish them. It is unfortunate that even if the peasants or the Communist have done anything at any time in self-defence, unable to bear the barbarous hunt of the Malabar Special Police but to make an uproar that it is Communist atrocities is to encourage the oppression of those imperialist satellities and persons of vested interests.

We wish to remind all patriots that the incidents which witness in North Malabar to-day is a part of the conspiracy of the British Imperialxxixism for dividing the people and suppressing them. Their policy is to surround places like Irikkur like an army surrounding a fort and spread false stories suited to stir up Congressmen's Communist hatred, and then let loose severe repression against the peasants.

We appeal that no anti-Imperialist should fall into this trap. Let the Congress and the League join together and hold and open Court and take an account of all what has been done till now by the Malabar Special Police and the District authorities. How many were killed? How many were arested? How many were beaten? How many houses were looted? We affirm that people will give evidence once after the other, regarding each and every incident.

Eight murders:-

The Malabar Special Police has so far committed eight murders in Chirakkal taluk; two in Karivelloor; five in Ellaranhi and again one in Ellaranhi in Nedungom side.

In Karivelloor two people were shot dead. Among the dead Communist assailants one is a boy aged only 14 years. It is to disperse a crowd of 50 persons that firing was resorted to; what was on the other side, was a batch of Malabar Special Police and 60 armed goondas to help them. Besides the two killed in this firing several people were injured. Among them the injuries of Karathammadakkodakkal Kunhiraman is particularly worth attention. The injuries are on the shoulder-blade and neck. The police chased him and shot him from behind with a rifle; what can you call this, other than thirst for blood?

The reason attributed to justify this firing is that they communists obstructed to transport of 6,000 seers of paddy which was being transported from Karivelloor for secreting the same in the black-market bin of the Chirakal Raja, who has become notorious to-day, throughout the land, as the result of the statement of & Sri Kelappan and others.. Karivelloor is a deficit amsam. The Malabar Special Police sided in Chirakal Tampuran for transporting paddy against the accepted principles of the Congress leaders that paddy should not be taken out of the deficit amsam.

Murders that took place in Ellaranhi are more horrible than this. During untimely hours of the night a batch of Malabar Special Police men trespassed into the houses of certain peasants and arrested three persons. Hearing the uproar some peasants collected together on a nearby hillock, and including those who had joined subsequently altogether there would be only 200 persons. These unarmed men lying down pelted stones at the Malabar Special Police for keeping them at a distance and saving their lives. But the Police were not ~~kk~~ at this stone throw distance. No sooner the Malabar Special Police surrounded the hillock than the peasants ran and escaped. Those who were not able to escape and those who were laying down with the injuries were taken as prisoners by the Malabar Special Police.

Only one person died on the hillock, as the result of the firing. Among those taken as prisoners, four persons were later on brought to the field and were made to stand and were heartlessly, shot dead. The Hon'ble Prakasam had said that the "Communist carried on a war with the Police and that if the Police had failed to work vigilantly they would have been killed." To empty numorous cartridges against unarmed crowd of 200 persons in anger to shoot down four persons already injured; since they could not be made to subdue; is this what is called vigilance?

The second murder which occurred in Ellaranhi was carried out on the 18th. That incident is sufficient to stun those who have a little of human qualities left behind in their hearts. That

night at 10 p.m. Thaliparamba Sub-Ispector and a posse of Malabar Special Police men went to Nedungom side. Several houses were broken open and searched. As usual, they smashed to pieces vessels, etc., committed theft of samans; womenfolk were threatened. But this time they were not satisfied with all those things. A patient was lying in the house of one Kundan Nambiyar. His name is Chandukutti. He was lying with anaemic and mums in a manner unable to move about or do any work. Malabar Special Police men dragged him and took him to the camp. He was continuously beaten and done to death. Next day in the evening his corpse was taken by some agents of the janmis and was left on the veranda of the house of his elder brother. Sri Kelappan passed judgment over incidents such as these saying that "such incidents are unavoidable under such pitiable circumstances."

ARE THESEX THE COMMUNISTS THE WRONG DOERS?

It may be said that the firing and the mass murders are to suppress "Communist wrong-doers" but what about the highhandedness against the women and children? How could they be justified?

What happened in Kandakai on 15th February 1947 is alone sufficient to bring the Malabar Special Police authorities to justice. That day the Malabar Special Police men and some goondas caught hold of three young women, their mouths were stuffed with cloths, they were pushed down on the ground and brutally raped. One of them became unconscious. They have made it clear in the Deshabhimani paper that they are prepared to give evidence before any court of enquiry regarding this incident.

In continuation of the firing at Karivelloor the Malabar Special Police have carried out several highhanded action against the womefolk of those places. On December 25th, 1946 a batch of Malabar Special Police men went to the house of one Parandi Vellichappadan and a woman who was carrying nine months was caught hold of by her forelocks and beaten terribly with a lathi. "If you don't point out Vellichappadan your pregnancy now will be brought to delivery." They roared this.

The day previous to this incident, they went to the shop of a woman who earned her living by trading in Payyanur bazaar and pushed open the door and caught hold of the woman. What happened was that the woman freed herself and ran and escaped with her child, Then they went to a place by name Anoore to the north of the bazaar to a house, where Anadeel Pandinhattayil Narayani, two young women, and an old woman live together and demanded them to open the door. When they refused to open the door, they (Malabar Special Police men) said that they would set fire to the house and pull down the shed.

These women are working in Payyanur Khadi Vasthralayam. All the women-folk of that place have sent a petition regarding this incident.

These devils then caught hold of some women who had gone in the early hours of the morning for plucking grass. They were dragged and forcibly taken to the veranda of a shop. The Malabar Special Police smashed the pots which they were carrying with them filled with kanji intended for noon. They attempted to pull them down by catching hold of their forelocks.

Sri Kelappan, who first wrote that "in Karivellore Malabar Special Police is not beating any one unnecessarily and that, the woman Kunhathi's hand was only touched once," but in a subsequent statement (Mathrubhumi, dated February 26) he tries to escape. "I did not say that the Malabar Special Police did not commit atrocities. . . What I wrote was that the stories of falsehood propagated with big headlines to mislead the masses to the effect that the Malabar Special Police harassed a large number of women by giving out that there was no safety for even old and pregnant women was untrue."

We are prepared to prove to the very letter the incidents which occurred at Karivellore. If there is little justice still remaining in him let him arrange a public and impartial enquiry! The other "heroic action" of the Malabar Special Police beat and cause injuries on children, aged 14 and 15 years. This is what

happened at Malappattum during last November 28th. A batch of Malabar Special Police men who reached there that day surrounded a boy Narayannan, aged 16 going that way, and beat him severely after surrounding him in their anger to secure certain accused about whom they were making enquiries, like the saying, "failure in the bazaar is turned against the mother at home." On hearing this incident ten boys carried on a demonstration near the Malabar Special Police carrying a red flag. Among them, a boy Padmanabhan, aged only 14 years was caught hold of, beaten and fisted. One finger of the boy was crushed. The atrocities was carried on asking, "you fellow, where are those who are concerned in the case?" Padmanabhan was taken away with them (Malabar Special Police). Many among the 30 boys who followed the police again requesting the release of Padmanabhan, were caught hold by them again and beaten. Nearly 20 boys between the age of 8 and 16 were subject to harsh treatment. What sin did these boys commit for their (Malabar Special Police) not being able to arrest"Communist wrong-doers"?

On 6th February last at Chooliyattu and on the 11th at Chandranallur (Thaliparamba) some women and children were ill-treated in a cruel manner. The Malabar Special Police men who had gone to search some houses at Chooliyattu caught hold of a boy Govindan, aged only 14 years and beat him terribly from the field. They went to the house of a Comrade K.V. Kunhambu Nair and when attempted to beat his wife she ran and escaped.

On the 11th at Chandranallur a woman Kattur Kunhathi was beaten by the Malabar Special Police till she began to spit blood crying out, "Did you not give food and tea to the Communist?" The woman is aged about 45 years and she is the mother of five children. That same evening a girl Padmavathi, aged only 16 was caught hold of and ill-treated by them at Perigom. She was dragged for about a mile. A boy Raman, aged 12 of the same house was also beaten by the Malabar Special Police.

Besides these to-day in Chirakkal taluk it has become a daily

occurrence to trespass into the houses at any part of the midnight to say impoxlite words on the faces of women and tease them.

Malabar Special Police has no discrimination: Malabar Special Police do not show any discrimination in the matter of getting rid of the cramps of their palm. Congressmen and Communist are both same to them; if they failed to get anybody else, they will beat even the secretaries of the landlords who feed them! That is the experience in Chirakkal taluk. It is here we are able to see a clear picture of Sri Kelappan forgetting the personal safety of his own followers as a result of blindness due to Communist hatred.

On the night that Sri Kelappan went to Karivellore and made enquiries, Malabar Special Police went fully drunk to the house of Kannoth Kunhi Raman Nair, important Congress man of that place and stamped the door and frightened the womenfolk. Kannoth Lakshmi Ammal, aunt of Kunhi Raman Nair was beaten by the Malabar Special Police. The daughter and the niece of one 'Kodakkal Kelu Nair,' another follower of Sri Kelappan were also beaten by the Malabar Special Police.

They have also beaten Sri Ananthan Nambiar, president of Payyanur Firka Congress Committee.

On the noon of 15th January over thirty Malabar Special Police men surrounded a place Olakkadu in Kandakai amsam and arrested six persons. Among them were two persons of Congress Views. Last December 30th some Congressmen were arrested at Peralam.

These can be interpreted as the false propaganda of the Communists. But how can Sri Kelappan deny the following report published in Mathrubhumi?

For the past few days at Payyanur and surroundings certain police men are doing certain acts which fully warrants for complaints. Recently from near the Sanjayan Memorial Reading room at Anoor Sri K.P. Kunhikanna Poduval, a member of the Payyanur x Congress Committee and the working committee member of the above-mentioned reading room was beaten by a Malabar Special Police man

for the mere reason that he did not get up and respect him. (Malabar Special Police), while he (Malabar Special Police) man was coming, and though a complaint was made by the Payyanur village Congress Committee to the authorities, no action appears to have been taken. The authorities have been informed about the ill-treatment of Sri M.P. Karimban a member of the Villoor Village Congress Committee on 27th January 1947 at a place called Kandoth by a policeman of Payyanur as if at the request of somebody else. Above all the atrocities shown by a policeman at Chetta in Peralam amsam during night time is unimaginable. It will be a great danger to tolerate the satanic attitude of a policeman and his associates, who attempted to drag and take away a woman saying that she is being taken at the orders of the master, when her father and relatives witnessed this and raised a hue and cry."

There is nothing to wonder at the oppression of the Communist and the Congress and those related to them, and who are friends of the country men, by the Malabar Special Police. But what about the beating by the Malabar Special Police of their own women-folk and their own master's (jemmis) secretaries? This can only be taken as a sign of insanity. On 22nd a batch of Malabar Special Policemen caught and took some women to the village munsif's house. They only later on knew the fact that among them there was one Narayani who is the sister of Malabar Special Policeman. This is another joke. On 17th of January a batch of Malabar Special Police got into the house of Vattakkal Ryrappan, secretary of Kalyat landlord and pushed him down and beat his relation one Othayaoth Kelappan . Womanfolk raised a loud hue and cry in a manner to produce echo throughout Balathur. It is said that in that house large damage has been caused. If this is the behaviour towards the secretary of the landlord it is impossible to think of their attitude towards the ordinary public!

Are these not atrocities?

It is a countrywide man-hunt that has taken place in Chirakkal taluk so far. The accounts published in the papers show that 444 arrests have been effected. This means that the case has been

charged against 444 persons. Several persons were caught and taken without any warrant or records to the Malabar Special Police camp, ill-treated and let free after four days. It is better not to say anything about the ill-treatment meted out to those charged in the case and kept in permanent custody.

On 12th a batch of about 80 Malabar Special Policemen visited Mookkunnil (Taliparamba) arrested 10 persons and tied their hands behind and terribly ill-treated them with the butt-end of the gun and with lathie. There are persons who have witnessed the dreadful scene of blood clotted infront of the houses of Odamvalappil Chirukantan and Kunbambu as a result of the ill-treatment meted out to them and which has flowed from their persons. On that same day they sent to the shop nearby and caught hold of several persons and beat them. Amsam Menon also received beatings becaus e of the reasons that his younger brothers were Communists.

On 20th January a batch of Malabar Special Police got down at Adicherri and surrounded Adicherri rock. Arayaki Hassan, Thayakkandi Evaran and Puzhayarikath Gopalan who were in a shop were caught hold of. Crying out, "how is it that you fellows do not secure us anybody" two persons were beaten. On January 22nd at Malapattam, they destroyed some documents from the house of C.K. Othenan Nambiyar and took away a cheque of Rs.1,500x and Rs.130 persons who have seen him that evening with injuries ax all in cash from the house of P.V. Narayanan Nair. There are persons who have seen him that evening with injuries all over the body and in a naked state.

On the 8th of February a batch of Malabar Special Police who had visited Cheruthazath went to the house of Nakkadavan Chinatan Nair, Parammal Krishnan and T.V. Krishnan making enquiries about them. They caught hold of and beat Parammal Krishnan's younger brother Damodaran. Comrade T.P.Krishnan's father was caught and ill-treated. On their way they caught and beat one Kandathil Krishnan who was cutting stones in the quarry.

On the morning of 15th February a batch of Malabar Special Police visited the tea shop of Kannan near Kannookara Railway lines and saying to one Pokkan, a man of 65 years. "Don't give tea to

comrades, if you give them your bones will be made use of for soup " and saying thus he was beaten on the head. From the local bazaar two persons by name Puthiyaveetill Kannan and K.K. Govindan were ill-treated.

On 12th May 1947 evening about 15 Malabar Special Police men went to the house of K. Raman Nair, postmaster-in-charge of branch post office, Mayyil and inflicted bodily injuries. The allegation against him is that he refused to point out the permanent postmaster and that he was feeding comrades.

On the night of 24th December the Malabar Special Police men ill-treated without any cause on the road six persons who were returning to Payyanur after cinema. The beating is after questioning them "Are you Congress or Communist". To them it does not matter who they are! The next day, the Malabar Special Police Havildar and constables who were camping in Payyanur station made an attack on certain merchants. The reason is that when they asked one Kunhi Kannan, a soda shopkeeper for a cigarette he stated that he had none. He was caught hold of by the leg and dragged down. As some others interfered he ran and escaped without receiving kicks. On 22nd of December one Kookkanath Kannan, a poor peasant and his sons were terribly beaten at Karivellore.

On 14th December 1946 and 1st January 1947 several persons were arrested at Padiyothu Chalil. Among those arrested were two Congressmen. Five who were arrested on 1st January 1947 were severely ill-treated. Among these were two petty traders who did not belong to any organization.

On 5th of February comrade Karayalapilli Kannan was arrested and for a period of five hours he was continuously beaten from the station.

About 60 Malabar Special Police men who came to Mathamangalam on 30th December 1946 caught hold of and beat Kallara Krishnan, Thyvalappil Raman and Kuruvattu Valappil Kannan. At 5 p.m. an other man comrade K.V. Kammaran was arrested. He too was beaten severely from the lock-up.

If all these things are false reports of the Communists here is the "authoritative report" of MATHRUBHUMI.

"Yesterday morning a batch of Malabar Special Police men visited a plave kanayi in Korrom amsam and arrested Maniyara Kelappan and others. The local landlord of that place and ill-treated him badly for not paying varam and pattam." Mathrubhumi, dated February 19th.)

Can these high handedness be tolerated?

In the issue of the Powrashakthi, dated 18th February 1947, the following editorial is written:-

"It is learnt from the reports being received by us that due to the activities of the Malabar Special Police men who have been appointed to maintain peace, many an innocent public are put to inconvenience. From the reports it is seen that in the Communist hunt of to-day, several persons who are not Communists are subjected to police repression. To do anything for the mere reason that he happened to be father or mother or sister or brother of a Communist is not only undemocratic but also illegal and disgraceful."

What are the incidents hinted by Powrashakthi?

For the appearance of comrade K.P.R. Gopalan, accused in a case, which was registered as crime No.3 of 1947 a notice was pasted on his house asking him to appear before the First-Class Magistrate, Tellicherry, on 11th February 1947 a batch of Malabar Special Police men searched the house of the Comrade and took away all movable articles including paddy intended to be used as food, even though Sri Deviamma, a sister of K.P.R., protested saying that she is the owner of the house and properties, but the police did not pay heed.

Malabar Special Police went to the house where comrade Krishna Pillai was residing in Cannanore and took awayall articles including torn mats and rice intended to be used as food. Though the comrade's wife told them that these things belong to her and that they may not be taken, nothing came out.

A Congress committee has received a report that they (Malabar Special Police) went to a local

The same highhandedness was shown in the house of comrade Kandalottu Kunhambu at Pappinasherri.

This is not started to-day or yesterday. It is since two months that they have started at Irrikkur and other places to enter the houses of the peasants and break vessels indiscriminately, burn food stuff, etc., we are giving below extracts from the diary for two, three days of a Communist worker of that place.

Kandakai January 6th. To-day Malabar Special Police searched in all six houses including one at Kottayattu and five at Velath. There is a burning pit in front of all these houses. All the things from rice intended for food to cloth intended for wearing, are thrown into this. They have carried away jewels and money, One Kunala Damutty, aged 75 was beaten and crushed and he is now bed -ridden.

They went to the shops of the uncle of Olakkattu Gopalan and Yousuff and destroyed all the things.

Blathur January 17. This morning at 5-30 a.m. about 250 Malabar Special Police men entered the village via Ellaranhi, Payyavur and Irrikkur. Searched all the houses on the eastern coast. They entered the houses of Kannoth Narayanan, Kullanhayal Kalmayani, T. Achuthan, and smashed vessels and earthen pots, etc., koduval knife, etc., were taken away. Kannoth Devaki was beaten with butt-end of the gun. She is aged about 55 years.

On the northern coast they smashed to pieces jars, earthen pots, bottles, etc., from the houses of Kummiyadath Kannan Kulinha Kannoth Kalyani, Otheyadath Anandan and Kooliyathu Narayanan. They even destroyed rice which was ready for eating. The doors of several houses have been kicked and broken. Kunhipathiavettil Kalliani was beaten.

Blathur 20th January 1947. To-day again over 50 Malabar Special Policemen arrived on the eastern coast. They entered the house of Kochodi Chandu Kutti and smashed the vessels to pieces. The plantain trees in the compound were destroyed. Padikkottikottan was caught and beaten.

T. Mahavi, Kodippadi Raman Kannavil Narayanan and T. Krishnan

Comrade Kolambath Padianhattevetil Kannan was beaten until he began to bleed through the mouth and nose. This is to make them say the hiding places of comrades.

The country men of those parts are passing many such nights and days like this. To be brief the social life of that locality has come to a standstill. As the result of the Malabar Special Police hunt the Primary schools of Malapattam, Chooliyattu, Chedicherry are closed down. The schools of Ellaranhi and Blathur are closed (look into Mathrubhumi, dated 29th January 1947). They are smashing and destroying even temples. They have trampled down the new Bhagavathi temple near Malapattam. It is said that a batch of Malabar Special Policemen who came to Parashinikkadavu on 13th February 1947 noon frightened those persons who had come to offer prayers in Muthappan temple by pointing the guns towards them and frightening them in other ways. To the Malabar Special Policemen, house of Mullikkodan Raman, a Communist peasant and the reading room where the sacred Valmiki Ramayana and the poems of Vallathol are kept, are alike. On 21st January 1947 morning they looted a reading room at Mallapattam. On 6th January 1947 they smashed to pieces everything in Kandaki reading room and burnt them.

We appeal to all patriots once again not to permit to continue this destructive campaign and not to annihilate a peasant society which is anti-Imperialist and to strengthen the agitation with greater vigour for the withdrawal of the Malabar Special Police from Chirakkal taluk and to conduct a public enquiry jointly by the Congress and the League.

Malabar District Communist Party.

(By order of His Excellency)

K. RAMUNNI MENON,
Chief Secretary.

To the Superintendent, Government Press,
for publication of the notification (paragraph 2 only).
To the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Railways and C.I.D.
To the Commissioner of Police, Madras.
To the Chief Pressidency Magistrate, Madras.
To the Post-master-General, Madras.

P.T.O.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO Individual Satyagraha and August Revolt etc (1939-43) Miscellaneous (1939)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Abstract of the subject.

(Riots and Disturbances - Use of troops in aid of Civil Power - Report to Government of India).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.2280, (Confidential), d/ 19th December 1939.

Public (General) Department.

No.391/13/39-Political
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
HOME DEPARTMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL.

From
The Honourable Mr.E.Conran-Smith, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,

To
The Chief Secretaries to all Provincial Governments.

New Delhi, the 12-12-1939.

Sir,

I am directed to invite a reference to the Home Department letter No.51/8/37-Political, dated the 26th August 1937 on the subject of the supply of certain provincial reports to the Government of India. All Provincial Governments agreed to send the reports referred to and the information thus supplied has been of great assistance to the Government of Inda in the exercise of its own responsibilities.

2. The Government of India consider that in present cir-cumstances it is of special importance that the first inti-mation which they receive of the use of troops in aid of the Civil power should not come through press reports, the correc-ness, of which they are unable to determine. They trust, there-fore, that the Provincial Government will in all cases suppl[y] them as early as possible with full information regarding dis-turbances which may at any stage involve the use of troops i[n] order that any misstatements which may be published about s[uch] incidents can be corrected with the minimum of delay. They request that reports should continue to be sent for the w[hole] period in which troops are employed in aid of the Civil Po[wer]

EXTRACTS FROM GOS RELATING TO Individual Satya[...]

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Miscellane[...]

Abstract of the GO.

(Riots and disturbances - Tinnevelly district - Nang[...] Taluk - Vedakkangulam village Congress Committee - Illegal co[...]tion of Congress Mahimai - Rioting - Case against Doraiswami P[...] and 16 others - Papers recorded.)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.136 (Ordinary) dated 16 - 1- 1940., Public(Ge[...]

Department.

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From (Name) : E. Bennett Esquire, I.C.S,
(Designation): District Magistrate - Tinnevelly.

To
The Chief Secretary to Government, Public (General) Department
Madras.

C.1. No.232M.39, dated 26th April 1939.

Sir,

Riots and disturbances - Nanguneri taluk - Vadakkankulam village - Illegal exaction by the village Congress Committ[...]

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Government Memorandum No.7931/39-2 dated 30-3-1939.

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2. At the instance of the Secretary of the village Congress Committee, one Thommai Cruz Nadar had been illegally collecting money as "Congress - Mahimai" from every bandyman who passed through the village for trade and had been issuing receipts for it.

3. On 25-1-39, the Sub-Inspector of Police, Valliyur, ~~camp~~ camped in the village in connection with some enquiry and stayed in the house of one Vyagappa Pillai, a retired catechist. In the course of his enquiry regarding complaint against the illegal collection of the "Congress Mahimai" from Bandyman, he examined Thommai Cruz Nadar and seized from him a printed receipt book showing the collection. Getting scent of his enquiry Durasami Pillai (Secr[...] village Congress Commi[...]

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a large body of his followers - about 300 in number in front of the house of the retired catechist where the Sub-Inspector of Police was holding the enquiry and pelted stones into the house. Apprehending danger, the Sub-Inspector of Police with the men whom he was examining and the inmates of the house retreated inside and bolted the front door of the house. The crowd continued to pelt stones for about an hour and remained there til about midnight with petromax lights, threatening the inmates of the house and the Sub-Inspector of Police with harm. The village headman immediately sent intimation about the disturbance to the sub-Magistrate Radapuram who had been camping at Panagudi After sending express reports to the circle Inspector of Police at Nanguneri, the Sub-Magistrate gathered the available police force at Panagudi outpost and Valliyur station and proceeded to Vadakkankulam. By this time, the crowd had dispersed ***** The Circle Inspector of Police took up the investigation and charge-sheeted 17 persons including Duraisami Pillai and Thommai Cruz Nadar for offences under section 147, 342 and 353 I.P.C before the Stationer Sub-Magistrate, Nanguneri.

The accused were tried and all except the 12th were found guilty and given various terms of imprisonment ranging from two to six weeks if they refused to pay the fine imposed on them.

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